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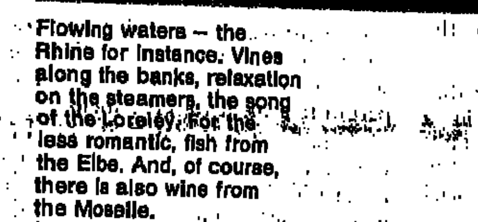


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Happy holidays in the Federal Republic 1972

The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 20 April 1972
Eleventh Year - No. 523 - By air

C 20725 C

Hanoi's attacks will not impede U. S. pullout



Communist offensives in Vietnam are spreading and are obviously Hanoi's answer to the American air raids on targets in North Vietnam in recent weeks and the American boycott of the Paris Peace Convention.

Despite optimism in the South, Hanoi and the Vietcong are clearly still in a position to launch a major offensive on, indeed, three or four fronts simultaneously and the South Vietnamese army has yet to put up much in the way of resistance.

What, one wonders, are the motives behind this latest large-scale attack by Hanoi and the Vietcong? They can surely not expect to win outright while American troops are still in the country.

They more probably want to impress Moscow and Peking with a demonstration of their determination to keep up the struggle, possibly also to secure a sounder basis for negotiation at the Paris talks.

An attack on the old Imperial city of Hué is by no means out of the question, though. It could form part of a plan for a take-over of the three northernmost provinces of Annam. In Laos and Cambodia too communist troops have considerably improved their position in recent months, though not primarily for purposes of gaining fresh ground. What they have done is to safeguard the supply routes to South Vietnam. The current Communist offensive shows yet again how pointless the South Vietnamese expeditions to Cambodia and Laos have basically been. It also shows that air supremacy alone is not enough. American statements to the effect that the war in the air has been 85 per cent successful deserve to be taken with a pinch of salt.

Despite round-the-clock bombing of the Ho Chi Minh Trail and communist bases in North Vietnam the US air force has proved unable to make decisive inroads into the communist supply-lines through Laos and Cambodia.

The 25,000-man South Vietnamese corps that recently invaded Cambodia again with the aim of mopping up the latest communist pockets has evidently been equally unsuccessful.

It is hard to say at present how far the communist offensive will go and when it can be brought to a halt. In all probability the fighting will again show that the South Vietnamese are unable to defend themselves without American assistance.

The Cambodians and Laotians, let it be added, are even less able to defend themselves without outside assistance. One cannot but doubt whether the much-vaunted vietnamisation will prove a success.

Without the enormous fire-power of the US air force and artillery the South Vietnamese stand very little chance of holding their own in combat with units of the "National Liberation Front" and North Vietnam.

The pacification campaign undertaken with American assistance would not seem to have wrought much havoc on the political infrastructure of the Vietcong either.

South Vietnamese declarations to the effect that 95 per cent of the population is controlled by Saigon are clearly nothing but propaganda.

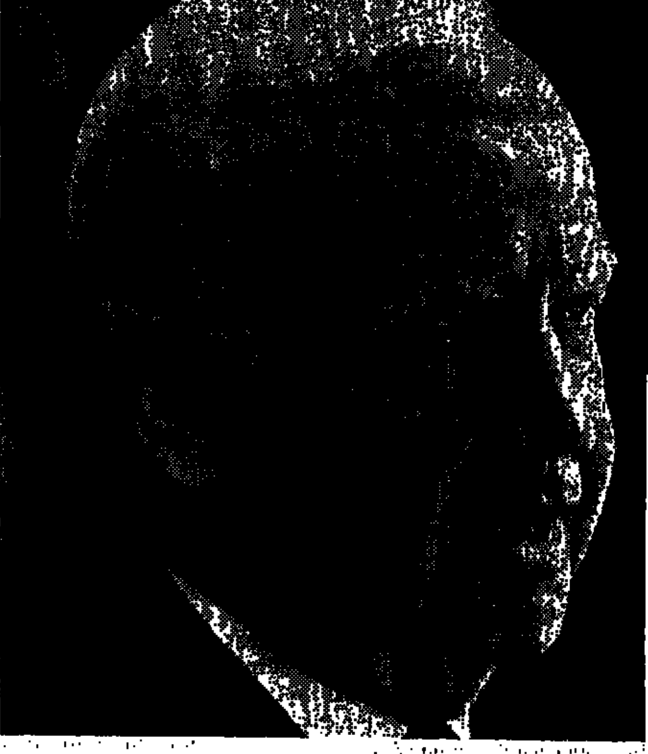
One aim the communist offensive will fail to achieve is to slow down to any appreciable extent the American withdrawal from Vietnam, though of course the United States cannot be too keen on Saigon suffering military setbacks.

Defeat of the South Vietnamese would prove that American commitment in Indo-China and US vietnamisation policy have been a failure.

North Vietnam and the Vietcong may not expect the current offensive to be a military success but they are counting on psychological success at least.

Christian Roll
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 10 April 1972)

IN THIS ISSUE



(Photo: Sven Simon)

Former President Heinrich Lübke dies aged 77

Heinrich Lübke, second President of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1959 to 1969, has died aged 77 of a serious illness details of which were known only by his family and friends.

He was a controversial figure but a conscientious President. Not even his critics would deny his honesty.

The son of a shoemaker and smallholder in Enkhausen, a small village in the Sauerland region of Westphalia, Heinrich Lübke was a Roman Catholic and a man whose thinking was governed by ideas of Catholic welfare.

In 1947, when the most serious problem confronting the Ruhr was the food shortage, he took over the crucial post of Minister of Food and Agriculture in North Rhine-Westphalia.

In 1949 he was elected a Christian Democrat member of the Bundestag. Four years later he was appointed Federal Minister of Food and Agriculture in Bonn.

His Presidency was problemantic from the start. He was felt to be a stopgap. Konrad Adenauer, who had originally intended taking over as President himself, stood down in somewhat spectacualr circumstances.

Abroad he was held in high esteem. Always smiling and gracious, the white-haired Lübke skilfully negotiated many a potential pitfall with the aid of his interpreters and protocol staff. At home he was always handicapped by unfavourable comparison with Theodor Heuss, his outstanding predecessor.

Politically Lübke was by no means always in agreement with Konrad Adenauer, who was Chancellor during his first years in Presidential office.

Unlike Adenauer, Lübke was always in favour of Social Democrat participation in government. He felt it to be bad that a party as large as the SPD had been out of national office since 1930.

President Lübke was on the best of terms with Social Democrat Willy Brandt, at that time Governing Mayor of West Berlin, – much to Konrad Adenauer's annoyance.

In 1964, when Lübke's first term of office expired, Herbert Wehner persuaded the Social Democrat members of the Electoral College to support the outgoing President. The Christian Democrats were no longer all that keen on their own man but by virtue or the Social Democrat confidence he enjoyed had no choice but to vote him back into office.

Wehner's tactics proved successful and a mere two years later the Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats took over the reins of government in Bonn.

Ill-health made him consider a mid-term retirement but he stayed on for several years lest an early retirement be considered a tacit admission of the truth of communist allegations.

Not until the storm had died down a little did he finally, on his 74th birthday, announce his intention of retiring slightly ahead of time on 30 June 1969.

Werner Neumann
(Lübecker Nachrichten, 7 April 1972)

Trade agreement with Moscow has been settled

The talks with Moscow on a long-term trade agreement have come to a successful conclusion. Hans Friedrich Hermes of the Foreign Office will be returning from the Soviet capital with a full treaty draft in his attaché case.

The signing of the agreement will mark the end of years of tug-of-war and rounds of talks between Bonn and Moscow. With the passage of time demands and counter-demands were made according to a strict ritual, Moscow repeatedly calling for the lifting of export restrictions to this country and Bonn insisting that West Berlin be covered by the terms of the agreement too.

A satisfactory arrangement on Berlin having now been found, the Federal government in Bonn has been generous in its lifting of import restrictions.

The agreement will not result in spectacular progress for the economy. This country's negotiators never expected it to do so.

Western European competitors for Soviet trade, among them Britain, France and Italy, have concluded treaties on economic and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union some time ago without gaining spectacular economic advantages.

Yet in these other cases there was not even a matter of ratification standing between the conclusion and non-conclusion of an agreement. Moscow is purely and simply short of foreign exchange.

When foreign exchange or credit have been available Soviet buyers have not been unduly worried by the non-existence of a formal trade agreement. They have gone ahead and bought the industrial equipment they needed. But nothing can be done when the cupboard is bare.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 April 1972)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Moscow comes round to accepting Peking as an independent factor

Slowly but surely the three-cornered international political relationship between Washington, Moscow and Peking is taking clearer shape.

The beginnings of detente between America and China are having their first repercussions on the deep-seated conflict between Russia and China.

After a lapse of four months the two sides are discussing their frontier problems again. For the time being at least the odium has declined in intensity.

In recent weeks the Soviet Union, having grown rather less sure of itself, has varied rather more than China in the degree of its propaganda attacks.

Until shortly after President Nixon's visit to Peking Russia poured propaganda fire and brimstone on China. Moscow now seems more willing to make concessions. Meanwhile the Chinese have adopted a wait-and-see approach.

The increasing gravity of the situation in Indo-China has no doubt been a contributory factor, but so has the realisation that Peking, in its talks with President Nixon, did not in point of fact leave North Vietnam, a country with which both Russia and China are allied, in the lurch.

The more or less joint response of the two Communist great powers to the hopeless situation in Vietnam may only be temporary, though. What is more, the three-cornered world contest involves more than Indo-China.

The Kremlin leaders would like come what may to reach some agreement with President Nixon when he visits Moscow in May and in this context some kind of offer to Peking is not a bad idea.

Mr Brezhnev recently offered the Chinese a re-establishment of relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence and an agreement on renunciation of the use of force. This offer was repeated for days on end by the Soviet Press.

"The official Chinese representatives tell us," Mr Brezhnev said, "that relations between the USSR and the People's Republic of China must be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

"If Peking feels there is no question of aiming at anything more in relations with a socialist state we are certainly ready here and now to build up Sino-Soviet ties on this basis."

The significance of these words can hardly be overestimated, always assuming of course that they are honestly meant and implemented by both sides.

It is not a matter of party-political Double Dutch but of a rearrangement of relations between the two major socialist countries and indeed of international issues of the first water.

In the past the Soviet Union has considered "proletarian internationalism" and the "obligation to render fraternal mutual assistance" to be fundamental to the "socialist community".

In relations between socialist states it was considered of far greater importance than peaceful coexistence. When a socialist country was threatened from without or within the Soviet Union claimed a right to intervene.

The Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 was merely an application of these principles, especially the obligation to lend mutual assistance.

The most important statement of these principles was the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine of the limited sovereignty of socialist countries.

The Chinese, however, rejected the idea of the supremacy of one country in the socialist camp as long ago as 1960. They advocated a socialist community in which the independence of individual countries and Parties was guaranteed.

This stand gained China sympathy and success. In the end Peking came to view peaceful coexistence as a basic tenet of relations not only between socialist and non-socialist countries but also as a fundamental component of proletarian internationalism.

As long ago as 1963 Peking declared that "relations between socialist countries, no matter whether large or small, economically developed or underdeveloped, must be based on the principles of full equality, respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence and mutual non-intervention in domestic affairs."

Peking has often repeated this declaration, which corresponds to the principles of peaceful coexistence. It is reflected in the Shanghai declaration that marked the conclusion of President Nixon's visit to China and China has proposed to the Soviet Union that it be taken as the basis for a re-establishment of normal relations.

Leonid Brezhnev's latest statement will certainly bring about no change in the hegemonial relations between the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Pact. These are still governed by the doctrine of the limited sovereignty of socialist states.

Towards Peking, though, the Soviet leader is no longer insistent on the doctrine of justified intervention. Instead he has taken up the Chinese proposal which at the same time amounts to abandoning hope of a re-establishment of "fraternal relations." Mr Brezhnev evidently regards ideological reconciliation as an impossibility.

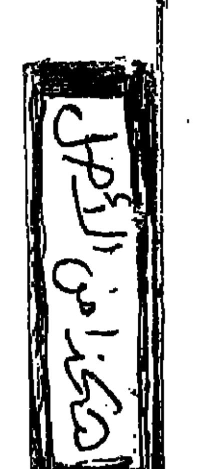
Moscow has thus in principle acknowledged Peking to be an independent factor in the international arena. This is certainly a major victory for Chinese obduracy and the historic rapprochement between Peking and Washington. But the Chinese remain mistrustful.

Peking is hesitating before replying to the Brezhnev offer. It was awaiting practical demonstrations of good will such as a perceptible withdrawal of Soviet forces from the border with China.

"The danger comes from the North" is a Chinese slogan that is gaining increasing currency. Relations with the land power to its north are probably more important for China in the long run than relations with the country – whichever it might be – that happens to control its offshore waters.

Siegfried Kubi

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 April 1972)



Tokyo's foreign policy steers a new course

When Eisaku Sato took over as Japanese Prime Minister in November 1964 he was expected to make a serious attempt to come to terms with People's China in order at long last to slacken the reins of one-sided ties with Nationalist China established at the height of the Cold War.

Before coming to power Mr Sato had added fuel to the fire of expectations along these lines by a number of statements. As it happened Sato, in common with his predecessors Yoshida and his elder brother Kishi Sato, turned out to be yet another loyal advocate of close links with the United States.

This precluded the possibility of a genuine rapprochement with Moscow (over and above the re-establishment of "normal" relations in 1956). Equally, it dashed hopes of coming to a political understanding with Peking.

As seen by Peking propaganda Mr Sato came, over the years, to be rated the embodiment of an anti-Chinese, anti-Communist outlook.

Over the years Tokyo grew increasingly insistent on the return to Japan of a number of Pacific islands occupied by the United States since the end of the war. Their 'return' was lastingly to symbolise the friendship between Japan and the United States.

At a meeting with Mr Sato in November 1967 President Johnson did indeed agree to return the Ogasawara (Bonin) islands to Japan and the transfer of power took place six months later.

In November 1969 Mr Sato also succeeded in including President Nixon to agree in principle to return to Japan the Ryukyu islands, the chief of which is Okinawa. Okinawa is to handed over to Japan on 15 May.

Many Japanese and no doubt Premier Sato himself view the restoration to Japan of Okinawa as the crowning achievement of his political career.

Mr Sato in 1965 became the first post-war Japanese Premier to pay the Ryukyu islands an official visit. In the course of this visit he declared that "As lang as the restoration of Okinawa to the fatherland is not accomplished the post-war period will not, in my view, have come to a close as far as Japan is concerned."

It now looks as though the restoration of Okinawa to Japan marks not only the end of the post-war era but also the end of inviolable friendship with the United States.

This trend, the milestones of which have included the 1970/71 textiles war between Japan and America and "voluntary" quotas of Japanese exports to the United States and President Nixon's endeavours behind Japan's back, as it were, to come to terms with People's China, can also be symbolised by a group of islands.

The islands in question are to be restored to Japan by the terms of the agreement of Okinawa. They are, to use the Japanese name, the Senkaku islands and they appear to be perched on top of enormous reserves of petroleum.

Washington's reaction to the conflicting claims to sovereignty over the islands has been reserved. What are being returned to Japan, the United States comments, are the administrative rights. These do not affect the legal rights of sovereignty.

Sovereign rights are also claimed by Peking and Taipeh, the Chinese name of the islands being Diaoyuasi. Washington's refusal to take sides has unleashed in ruling circles in Tokyo sentiments that used to be the stock in trade of student demonstrators and Opposition spokesmen and can without a doubt be termed anti-American.

Even the Prime Minister, who in the past has been careful to dismiss sentiments of this kind with a reference to US-Japanese friendship, has given the indignation voiced by the Foreign Ministry and the Press at Washington's lack of loyalty his blessing by telling the Press that he too feels the American approach is "not good".

Tokyo feels it has been left in the lurch after laying such spirited claim to the Senkaku islands and is making no bones about the fact.

This particular controversy comes at a critical juncture in the all-round re-appraisal of Japan's foreign and security policy. Past policy has been based on three factors, friendship with America, opposition to China and reservations about the Soviet Union.

Two of the three no longer apply and Tokyo itself is now setting about changing the third. Friendship with the United States has now taken such a battering that ties can never be quite the same again, while Moscow is so patently wooing Tokyo; witness Leonid Brezhnev's foreign policy statement to the Soviet TUC, that Japan will in the long run find it impossible to remain perched on the fence.

As for ties with China, the Japanese government has, since the admission of Peking to the United Nations at Taiwan's expense, decided gradually to scale down its links with Taiwan and seriously to seek out ways and means of coming to an understanding with Peking.

In the circumstances the Senkaku issue promises to assume crucial importance as a factor in future Japanese foreign policy. It is poisoning relations with America, counteracts the improvement in relations that was expected to result from the return of Okinawa and thus accelerates the transformation of this relationship from one of friendship to mere common trading and security interests.

It makes it easier for Japan to loosen ties with Nationalist China. Annoyance at Taiwan's unjust and opportunistic claims to the islands and the oilfields (unjust and opportunistic in Japanese eyes, that is) serves to offset Japan's feeling of gratitude and obligation towards Nationalist China.

The Senkaku issue also complicates the establishment of normal relations with Peking, a need that has been felt increasingly urgent since President Nixon's visit to the Chinese capital.

All that is now needed is for the Soviet Union to espouse Japan's claims to the islands in a manner and for reasons similar to those that in the past have motivated Peking to support Tokyo's claims to the restoration by Moscow of what are called its northern territories.

Gebhard Hielscher

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 March 1972)

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COMMON MARKET

Brezhnev shows concern over EEC growth

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

The Soviet Union is well aware of the reality of the European Economic Community, Leonid Brezhnev said in a speech he made on 20 March. Since then a number of commentators in the West have come out with ironic praise for Brezhnev's statement. They are saying scornfully that at long last he has recognised the realities in Western Europe.

But this condescension is out of place – the Soviet Union recognised the reality of the Common Market long ago.

It certainly took quite a while before Moscow completely grasped exactly what the Rome treaties had set in motion. Obviously the Soviet leadership was led astray by its own propaganda to the effect that the European Economic Community was dead at birth or was at least a malformed creation that would soon die of its infirmities.

But when Nikita Khrushchev bellowed that "the EEC will disappear like a puff of smoke" back in 1962 the illusion was already laid to rest.

It must have been early in 1962 that the Soviet leadership first realised the power and the potentiality of the EEC in clear outlines – and it was frightened by what it saw. The Six were growing closer together to form a true Common Market.

By the summer of 1961 Great Britain had made its application to join. Other European countries were toying with the idea of following suit and were making preparations to this effect. French-speaking African States were seeking association with the EEC – Moscow was alarmed.

In the more realistic view of the matter that the EEC existed and that if its march of progress were to be halted now was the time, to do it, Khrushchev began a propaganda campaign in May 1962. His Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko announced this with a warcry that was half in jest, but really meant to be taken seriously: "Down with the EEC!"

Krushchev had good reason for feeling this way. The rapid expansion and development of the EEC looked like the precursor of a massive growth and extension of Western European economic power, which Khrushchev wanted to attack, divide and weaken.

In his eyes the interest shown in the EEC by neutral European countries looked like a threat to the abstinence of many European countries from the Western Alliance and a temptation to yet other countries.

The pressure from African States to be given a place in various offices in Brussels looked to Khrushchev like a threat to his ambitions in the Third World.

And finally he must have predicted the great attraction of a strong and powerful EEC for the countries in his camp. We cannot be sure what caused Khrushchev to wind down this campaign after a few months. But obviously the obstinacy and determination of the Western European governments had some influence on him. Whatever these countries felt about the future developments of the EEC they were agreed that Soviet influence over the Common Market should be warded off.

Paradoxically it may well have been this experience that made the Soviet leadership put its shirt on the Western Europeans for the time being.

It seemed to be a favourable time to do so. General de Gaulle was setting about blocking the extension and expansion of the Common Market amid great ballyhoo.

It says a lot for the Soviet Union's realism that they never repeated the 1962 campaign. But the enmity remained.

As late as 3 March this year the Moscow weekly "New Era" launched an attack against the EEC. Two and a half weeks later Brezhnev surprised the world by voicing his recognition of the Common Market.

Once again it is not difficult to track down the motivations. The Soviet party leader obviously considers the time is ripe to chuck up a campaign that the world and he himself was coming to regard as tilting at windmills.

There is a lot to be said for the assumption of Walter Hallstein, who predicted last autumn that the Soviet Union would make formal recognition of the EEC a gesture to clear the way for the European security conference it wishes to bring about.

There is no doubt that the returns for such a move would be considerable. A flexible attitude to the EEC also fits in with the Soviet Union's detente policies in Europe.

If the Soviet Union were to come to an arrangement with Brussels it would be in a position to receive industrial goods, technical knowhow and maybe even capital from the West. this is a tempting prospect for the top men in Moscow, who are more aware of how far the Soviet Union lags behind than their predecessors ever were.

Perhaps Brezhnev is speculating that by consorting with the EEC the Soviet Union can help to open the trade gap chasm between Western Europe and the United States even further.

But it is one hundred per cent certain that while making overtures to the EEC the Soviet Union will close the ranks of the Eastern European States. The Western economic alliance is a challenge to him to do this.

The EEC has decided that from the beginning of next year no member State may sign any trade treaty with any East Bloc State.

What could be better for Brezhnev than to link up his East Bloc economic community Comecon with the EEC as the only permissible partnership? In this way he would tighten the ties with his satellites.

Johann Georg Reissmüller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 April 1972)

Paris angles to be named political head of the European Community

The European Economic Community, which is on the way to developing into an economic giant is not to remain a political dwarf.

The goals that progressive Europeans have been aiming at for the original Six are now the goals of those who in the past have just striven to harmonise economic and currency policy interests. For the Community is expanding to ten members and further economic and political expansion is the top priority.

In the capitals of Europe the slogan being bandied about is: Europe must find a common foreign policy. The magic formula that is to be an open sesame to this ambitious project is "a political secretariat".

This expression is not so new as it has been made to sound by the recent suggestions made by Chancellor Willy Brandt to President Georges Pompidou in February and a couple of weeks later to Prime Minister Edward Heath at Chequers.

There was talk of a political secretariat as long ago as the autumn of 1961 when General de Gaulle developed his plan for a political federation of States in Europe.

Then under the so-called Fouchet Plan there were great visions of a grandiose Europe (a dream that was quickly to fade). The new French initiative, however, though far-reaching in its aims seems more likely to encourage European pusillanimity.

At the moment the European planners are not concerning themselves with the formation and tasks of the European political secretariat, but where the institution should have its headquarters.

The top men in France have made no bones about it – they want to see the secretariat set up in Paris, which was also the idea of the Fouchet plan. But this French idea like so many others conflicts with the ideas held by their partners.

A veto has come from just about everybody, including the President of the Council of Ministers Gaston Thorn, British Premier Edward Heath and the new President of the European Commission Sicco Mansholt.

They feel that the secretariat should have its HQ in Brussels so that it can remain in constant touch with the other other Community organisations already there.

Only in this way, they argue, will it be possible to guarantee the interplay of the various organisations without which the success of the secretariat cannot be guaranteed and the further progress of the Community would be unthinkable.

But objections in principle were not raised by representatives of those organs whose spheres of influence would be overlapped by the secretariat. They too are well aware of the pressing and increasing need to coordinate the foreign policies of the EEC States.

The conference on security and co-operation in Europe which is being planned, the troubled relationship between the Community and the United States, the developments in the Mediterranean and the rapid changes in the relationship between East and West demand joint foreign policy concepts from the EEC.

These would be worked on in the political secretariat and then passed on to the Council of Ministers in the form of working papers.

Hopes that a political secretariat will be set up are being undermined by the efforts of the French to bring the headquarters to Paris.

There is now no longer any doubt among the other members of the EEC what Pompidou is aiming at. Brussels should be and remain the economic capital of Europe, while Paris becomes the political capital.

On the way to achieving this aim President Pompidou has set the points on several occasions. First of all the European summit conference that is to be held in October will take place in Paris. So the French will have home ground advantage which they feel will make it possible for them to avoid important political decisions being taken that do not correspond with their wishes.

Secondly the forthcoming referendum called by President Pompidou is designed to achieve far more than give wide publicity to the approval of the French people to the extension of the Community.

The text of the questionnaire that has been published by the communist newspaper *L'Humanité* gives the impression that Pompidou expects the French people to react to the referendum with a resounding *oui* not just to the extension of the market, but also to his whole policy for Europe.

He will then be the only statesman at the summit conference who will be able to point to a mandate from his people for his European policies. This would certainly raise his status at the conference.

If Pompidou's plans should come to fruition then the conference would establish that Europe should step by step develop into a confederation with the personality of the States that go to make it up.

At any rate this is the demand that the French people will be asked to countersign by saying *oui* to the referendum. It is still too early to say how many other European heads of State will be in favour of this type of Europe in the future.

On the other hand it is not too early to point out the danger that will arise if Paris were to become the one place in Europe where all political power were centred.

The delicate balance among the Ten, the possibility of alternating coalitions between the big boys in London, Paris and Bonn would be endangered if the power of Paris were to become too strong.

This should be grounds enough for the present and future members of the EEC to draw up their own plans for the Europe of the future as quickly as possible in order to counteract the French dreams.

Dieter Buhl

(Die Zeit, 7 April 1972)

Bonn to consult EEC partners before signing a trade agreement with Moscow

Negotiations at present under way in Moscow for a new West German-Soviet trade treaty are on the finishing straight.

But it is not at all likely that the signing and ratification of this treaty will come about in the immediate future. One point seems certain – West Berlin will not be included in any such agreement (and this has always been th stumbling block in negotiations for the trade treaty since 1963) unless the Treaties of Moscow and Warsaw are ratified by the Bundestag and take legal effect.

But another point that should be borne in mind is that between the initialling of the treaty and its ratification West Germany would have to consult its EEC partners. Such a consultation is not forced by decisions taken by the EEC Council of Ministers, but politically it would be expedient, come what may.

For from next year onwards the EEC will have a communal policy with regard to trade with the East Bloc. Thus the Federal Republic will no longer have the necessary authority for signing such treaties.

So, to say the least, it would be tactless to try to rush through matters before the gates are closed and create a situation that might well not fit in with a future EEC scheme of things.

So nobody should expect a quick payoff from the negotiations at present under way, and certainly no direct benefit to West German-Soviet trading should be expected.

About every other year the public hears of relatively major agreements being made. Then the big question is whether this big business has been good business. On almost all occasions there is doubt about the agreements that have been made, as if this country had had something forced upon it.

The truth is that on all these occasons it is simply commercial agreements that have been made. And such matters are decided by industrialists off their own bat. (Hannoversche Allgemeine, 5 April 1972)

LEGAL AFFAIRS

Trial by jury has much to commend it

Süddeutsche Zeitung

No "jurymen" will sit in West German courts of assize from 1 October onwards. Like all other lay-judges they will then be called "lay-assessors". Basically this is little more than a change of a misleading name.

Genuine jurymen at a genuine court of assize make their own decision on the question of a defendant's guilt. The judge has only to determine the length of sentence.

This jury system is still practised in the United States even though controversy about it is increasing. A number of people are demanding its complete abolition while others advocate its retention as part of the good old American tradition.

The genuine old assize court was abolished in Germany in 1924 by Minister of Justice Emminger. The "assize court" he established in its place is really nothing other than a special type of lay-assessors' court with three full-time judges and six "jurors" who debate the question of guilt and severity of sentence among themselves.

Reforms in this field aim at the abolition of this substitute assize court and its replacement by a criminal court consisting of three full-time judges and four instead of two sets of jurors.

The advantage of this would be greater mobility. The assize court still only sits periodically but the new system would speed up the administration of justice.

The current situation prompts thoughts of a more general nature on the problem of lay assessors and criminal proceedings. Reaching a verdict, especially when a swingeing restriction of personal liberty is involved, is a duty fraught with responsibility.

Today, specialisation tends to cloud the mind to the entirety of human existence. It is not only that the rational spirit of practicability has triumphed. Many scientific disciplines are becoming too broad for a universal education still to be possible.

Law is in the same position. It would be impossible to manage without the predominance of the specialist – the professional judge with legal training.

Experiences in the German Democratic Republic with "people's judges" have been disastrous because of the obvious political overtones and the lack of legal qualifications.

The one main objection against lay judges is that they lack knowledge of the law and its interpretation and training in such complicated fields as psychology and sociology. These duties frequently place excess demands on full-time judges. Because of his uncertainty, the layman is often easy prey for the clever dialectics of the prosecutor or defender.

This scepticism towards lay judges was underlined at the end of the Second World War when Bavaria was the first and only Federal state in West Germany to follow the Swiss pattern by reintroducing genuine assize court proceedings.

The Bavarian experiment failed and vanished into oblivion when German law was standardised and the Emminger-type assize court established.

The disadvantages of a genuine assize court were clearly shown up by the Bavarian experiment. The court with its twelve jurors chosen by lot before every session was too complicated and too expensive. Jurors lacked any legal know-how despite the fact that they bore all responsibility for the final verdict.

Extremely unsatisfactory verdicts were often the result. Because of their fear of press coverage and public opinion in more serious cases such as those of murder, jurors did not dare acquit the defendant or pass the verdict wanted by the prosecution. This shows the objections against saddling a lay judge with all the responsibility.

The Emminger-style assize court with the jurors' two-thirds majority over the professional judges (six to three) is neither one thing nor the other. The real power lies with the full-time judges and jurors are often overshadowed.

But the institution of lay judges merits preservation as verdicts are passed in the name of the people. Participation by the people should be retained as a corrective so that there is always a chance of the smugness of the professional judge being balanced by the man in the street and of judgements being passed as more than the logical consequence of what is written on a bit of paper.

Law-trained lay judge

Some critics want a lay judge with some knowledge of law. They point out that the part-time judges at the chambers of trade must be connected with commerce and want psychologists and sociologists to act as jurors during criminal proceedings.

As appealing as this proposal may appear at first glance, it is probably impractical as the present objective and neutral selection system that can make any West German a juror would have to be replaced by a process involving a number of qualifications. This would be incompatible with the principles of a constitutional State.

Ernst Müller-Meiningen jr.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 March 1972)

Minister delays laying before the Cabinet penal system reform

Minister of Justice Gerhard Ja does not plan to present the P System Reform Bill to the Cabinet May. The Bundestag would not then with the subject before the autumn.

It is true that many aims of the refo are controversial but it is surely going far to suggest that there are many differences of opinion over Mini Jahn's Bill.

Politicians have spoken for the hundred years about the need modern humanitarian penal system aims at the correction and rehabili of offenders.

The guidelines drawn up by the Pe System Commission consisting of aca mics, lawyers and parliamentarians met with general approval though views expressed will remain undisputed.

The problem of a reform of the pe system cannot be reduced merely to cost. A total of 1,300 million Marks needed to modernise the two hund West German prisons or replace them new, friendlier institutions more in ke ing with the reform.

The question of finance is the ma reason for postponing discussion on Bill to the autumn but it will not be only bone of contention. The financ problem could be solved in talks betw the central government and the Fed states especially as the reform can only implemented in stages. New penal in tutions and adequately trained staff not be produced overnight.

Cyrill von Radzib

(Nordwest Zeitung, 25 March 19

Government presents new proposals to help contain crime

Positive action has at long last been taken in the fight against crime. Minister of the Interior Hans-Dietrich Genscher has presented a priority programme for "Internal Security" and has been helped by some proposals from Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn on how to speed up criminal proceedings.

The programme is based on the fact that an offender cannot be punished until he is caught. It is not a severe sentence that has a deterrent effect but the probability that an offence will be followed by a successful hunt for the offender and then legal proceedings.

Aiding the police by recruiting more men and increasing equipment is the effective way of improving on the number of cases solved – and of fighting crime. Playing around with the penal code only satisfies emotions for a short period.

The proximity of the Baden-Württemberg elections does not detract from the justification for this programme. But the fact that the government thought it necessary to publish its proposals at this time shows the extent to which it has been forced on to the defensive and into confusion in this field.

It began when the Christian Democrats called for an extension governing the laws of arrest for habitual offenders at their congress in Düsseldorf in 1971. A number of Social Democrat members of the Bundestag tried to forestall this by presenting a Bill of their own.

Because of the impressions made by spectacular crimes last summer Christian Democrats Helmut Kohl and Ernst Benda could afford to come up with hackneyed claims and proposals. These false ideas are still encountered today in newspapers and speeches because of the effect they have on the public.

We now have too the inconsequential Bill of the CDU/CSU and the more serious draft by the Bundesrat, the Upper House in Bonn. But neither makes an effective contribution to the fight against crime as they do not attack the main point but only arouse false hopes.

The government has never recognised the explosive nature of this subject otherwise it would probably have countered these proposals with information of its own. Why it did not take the initiative for so long, and a sensible initiative, remains a mystery.

What we need is a rational integrated programme and not high-faluting discussions about individual topics torn from their context. This means that the im proved efficiency of the police lea accelerated legal proceedings and – whe there is no other way out – the curr laws of custody must be harmonised wi one another and with crime tro spheres.

Gerhard Jahn's proposals for the l governing criminal proceedings repres no patent solution. Public prosecu and courts would be spared trifling of The final interrogation that is laudal intention though dilatory in pra would be abolished.

These are sensible plans like the ab tion of the preliminary investigation judges. Proposals that one judge sho issue all the arrest warrants connec with one case are also part of package.

Plans permitting the public prosec to call and interrogate witnesses of own must be given careful examination must the extension of telephone tapp

A reform of the penal system should part of any extensive programme for the fight against crime – as unpopular as the idea may be. A reform of this type i necessary and only a new penal system can prevent our prisons from turning o habitual criminals.

It is probably the unpopularity of the project that has led the government to postpone its Bill until May, after the Baden-Württemberg elections. The G ernment should not be afraid to exp this reform – the need for it is admi by legal experts of all parties. Th considerable expenditure expected co not be avoided even if the old syst were to be retained.

Nobody should scorn the subject internal security. It really is serious. Th is why the Opposition should bury suspicions of the government programm and stop trying to raise public emotio Though respecting parliamentary tra tions – both good and bad – th CDU/CSU often goes too far on th point.

Robert Leicht

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 March 19

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RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

The Churches fight shy of controversy



The times when the two main Churches in West Germany used to generate fresh ideas are past – at any rate for the time being. The Evangelical Church Council was recently criticised for remaining silent on the problems of Ostpolitik after publishing its courageous memorandum on the Oder-Neisse Line in the autumn of 1965. However the Council tries to explain this away, one thing is clear: this is no longer the language of the late sixties.

This is true for both the Catholic and Protestant Churches in their attitude towards politics, the ecumenical movement and institutional and theological developments in their own territory.

Where have the impulse provided by the Second Vatican Council led? Is the Catholic Church able to treat the problem of celibacy in anything but a defensive position?

After the East German members of the Protestant Church broke away the local Protestant Churches in West Germany decided to form a central German Evangelical Church that would be more than just a loose Federal organisation. But what has come of these intentions?

This set-back has occurred at a time when outside pressure on the Churches is declining. This is not pressure on the part of the State but social aversion. The number of people leaving the Church has declined. Aghostleism is no longer fashionable. Religion is becoming a necessity, if only as a refuge from the demands of the everyday world.

New ideas cannot be provided every day. Periods of consolidation and meditation can be profitable in the long term. But it does not look as if the present shortage of impulses is being at all balanced by a trend of this type.

All Church initiatives seem to be subject to the law of physics that developments always set off equally strong counterdevelopments. It is this hindering factor that we are experiencing at the moment.

The Churches' political commitment could no longer be denied. Abstinence too would be an attitude with political consequences. But the more concrete the form taken by what the Protestants call *politische Diakonie*, the more difficult it would be to reach an agreement and groups would tend to be formed within the Church.

When the Churches began to become more politically-minded – as controversial as moves of this type always were – they had to fight right away against the danger of placing too many demands upon themselves by trying to have an answer to everything. The result seems to be frustration in view of the growing recognition of problems and the realisation of their limited sphere of action.

There is no doubt that the impulses have also proved a burden for the Churches. That too was inevitable from the very outset. Marking time would not have led to any greater calm either.

It would be dangerous to look at these experiences and decide not to examine their positions but to make an immediate withdrawal.

Though sections of both Churches would like to take advantage of the present uncertainty by nipping in the bud developments that they mistrusted from the very beginning, this would have little success.

The formation of opinions among clergy and laymen has gained such independent dynamism that it could not be reversed without risking the authority of the Churches or their powers of integration.

And the Churches have indeed lost a lot of their power of integration. In the old days there would be a more or less general silence on a subject if the Churches remained silent.

But the result – and almost direct result – of the inconclusive statements of the Evangelical Church Council on Ostpolitik is the recent declaration on the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw made by prominent theologians and laymen, including members of the Council itself. More developments can be expected.

Dicussion of abortion law reform also shows that Church statements are no longer unanimous, not even those of the Catholic Church.

This trend may irritate a lot of people but it is not basically unwelcome if it helps to stop churchgoers accepting the authority of the Church unconditionally and awaiting salvation from above.

Search for survival

But this is not enough. The regular communities within the Churches that are hardly kept together today by social conventions must find a common basis on which they can survive conflicts into which they have entered or been pushed.

The times when the two main Churches in West Germany used to provide fresh impuses are past – at any rate for the time being. In many respects this is only natural. But it must not lead to the initiatives taken being disavowed.

If the Churches now lose courage they will prompt and suffer less provocation, it is true, but they will tend to lose rather than gain importance. The challenge is more inconspicuous than dramatic at present, but none the less urgent for all that. To face this challenge the Church needs tolerance and persistence in conflict which must be neither ignored nor overdramatised.

Robert Leicht

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 31 March 1972)

East Berlin Synod votes to set up East Berlin bishopric

NRZ NEUE RUHR ZEITUNG

The division of East German and West German Churches has now affected the last bastion – Berlin-Brandenburg. The East Berlin Synod decided by a large majority to establish a bishopric for the Eastern part if Bishop Scharf restricted his duties to West Berlin.

The Berlin-Brandenburg Church and Bishop Scharf have long been under attack by the Socialist Unity Party (SED). The German Democratic Republic did not like this Church being subject to regulations describing it as part of the West German Evangelical Church.

What is more remarkable is that the East Berlin Synod itself has voted for separation.

The split is a continuation of the division begun when the GDR Church League was established in 1969. Then as now there was talk of a spiritual community bridging all divisions. But statements of this type remained lip service, however well-intentioned.

Splitting up the bishopric is only sensible under present conditions. Unity existed only on paper and Bishop Scharf was unable to carry out his duties in full. The Eastern part of the bishopric had to suffer.

The Synod's decision should not be seen as an act of unconditional conformity with a political system which considers the duties of the Church to end with State frontiers.

A bishop in he Eastern part of the Berlin-Brandenburg bishopric could give the Church new impulses. He could also help to counter the constant undermining of Church life by the authorities there.

Robert Luchs

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 28 March 1972).

German Rabbi preaches evolution not revolution

Evolution in the orthodox sense and not revolution is the only way to reactivate Jewish communities in Germany and awaken young Jews' interest in society, Rabbi Ady Edward Assabi of Düsseldorf claims. The community spirit is often referred to by older Jews but it hardly applies any more to young Jews in the Federal Republic.

Twenty-six-year-old Edward Assabi has one strategic weapon – his youth. He knows what Germany is like and it was this that led him to work here after his parents emigrated.

Two months ago he left his community in London to take charge of eight communities numbering more than three thousand souls in the Düsseldorf area.

Assabi believes that when young Jews in the Federal Republic shun confrontation with the community and ignore the Torah and the orthodox customs of older Jews they are reacting to the traditional, rigidly-led orthodox community.

There was a movement in Germany about a hundred years ago that tried to adapt Jewish religion to contemporary times. Movements of this sort also spring up in Britain and America but there were two branches – the extreme left-wing and the pronounced right-wing groups. The community in Britain today is looked upon as orthodox while the ways of the reformers and liberals are looked upon as golden.

In America it is the reformers who are radical while the conservatives are taking the middle way. As in America, the community of German reformers was looked upon as radical before the war and the liberal community (in Britain the radical) became the middle way.

The walling-off process in Germany began when practising Jews set up Jewish communities on their return from exile. It was decided to establish orthodox communities except in Berlin. Old Jews understood this but the young thought it irrelevant to the modern age.

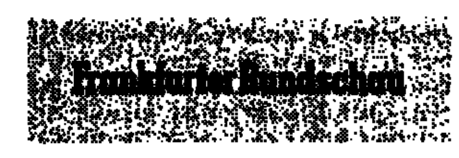
Rabbi Assabi sees evolution in the orthodox sense as follows: "By learning and understanding Jewish law and history and by discussing specific Jewish questions, young people should cure the sick roots. What we need is teamwork with the whol community that also prompts the young to activity."

Rabbi Assabi found that his support came mainly from the Jewish student organisation in the area. He is friendly with Tutti Katz who has sought contact with Jewish families in the Soviet Union in recent months and telephones them once a week.

Ten rabbis now administer the remnants of the former communities in West Germany, most of which have no more than a couple of dozen members. Assabi wants a new method that will prompt cooperation between the young and the old future.

He would like to find a course in which he is supported by his nine colleagues. He wants all the aura to be taken from rabbi status though this does not mean that all differences between rabbis and their community should be eradicated.

"Rabbis have always stood on one side as venerable, holy persons," he explains. "They were seen as persons to be consulted only when nobody else knew a way out. Things must now become more liberal. But little has been done in he past 25 years to lead to better understanding of our roots, our religion and our history. The young Jews, some of them not much



younger than myself, have explored this problem and come to a variety of conclusions. But this has ended mainly with entry into radical groups with anti-Zionist or even anti-Semitic views. Our leadership is probably not altogether blameless for this disease."

An incident during his first days in Düsseldorf is significant. When he was seen with his wife Yeal in a discotheque, the telephone rang in the community house. Was that a rabbi who was dancing, young people wanted to know.

Stefan Lehmacher

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 March 1972)

Protestant leader speaks out on abortion issue

A prominent member of the Protestant Church recently made a controversial statement about the latest proposals for abortion law reform.

Unlike some Catholics who state that members of their Church should not vote for politicians planning to make abortion easier, Professor Ludwig Raiser, head of the Evangelical Church Synod, stated that the Evangelical Church would not make such recommendations.

Interviewed by *Deutschlandfunk*, Professor Raiser stated that the majority of the Evangelical Church believed the current abortion law could not be allowed to exist in its present form.

He believed however that the clause permitting abortion for social reasons was extremely questionable, as was the three-month solution advocated by a number of politicians. Raiser believed that this could represent an invasion of the ethical sphere.

Raiser stated that the question of punishment would be made easier if an ethical barrier could be erected and it was made plain that terminating a pregnancy could be a grave decision of conscience for women.

But he added that a woman should be allowed to make her own decision in a case of emergency. It was the Church's function to decide what could be done to eliminate the social hardship that might lead women to seek abortions.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 April 1972)

■ FOREIGN TRADE

Export trends have altered radically over last 10 years

West Germany's foreign trade has gained renewed strength from the keen competition for international markets and from the numerous instances of unrest and crisis in the past ten years.

Neither the two upvaluations of the Mark in 1961 and 1969 nor the floatations in 1969 and 1971 have lost this country any ground on an international and long-term comparative basis, although the situation is somewhat different on the home front in individual cases.

In the past ten years, the Federal Republic has not only been able to maintain its position but also strengthen it even further.

Although this country had to share second place in the table of world trading measured on turnover (exports plus imports) in 1961, largely because of Britain's relatively high import requirements at that time, the Federal Republic was clearly ahead of Britain in the 1971 placings.

Last year the Federal Republic's lead was again outstanding with 12.6 per cent in international exports and 10.5 per cent of world imports.

The figures for the increases in the Federal Republic's exports and imports, 208 and 214 per cent (according to the figures published by the International Monetary Fund) were considerably higher than the average increase in other industrial nations.

This means that the relative proportions for the Federal Republic in world trade have improved, not only in comparision with Great Britain but also with other industrial nations.

In comparison with trade within West Germany foreign trade has also made great strides forward. The proportion of the gross national product increased from 13.3 to 15.9 per cent in the case of imports and from 15.3 per cent to eighteen per cent as far as exports are concerned.

Adjusting these figures to a per capita of population figure imports have increased from 790 to 1,962 Marks per head of population and exports from 907 to 2,221 Marks.

But the export drive, which was greeted with such bravoura from the outset, has created a number of problems. On the one hand the constant surpluses in this country have helped to boost the amount of money in circulation and have caused an inflationary increase in demand.

On the other hand an ever-increasing number of articles produced in the Federal Republic have been lost to this country, not to mention the output of the service industries.

Both of these factors have been a major contributor towards the rapidly rising prices in this country with their cumulative effect.

A glance back over the past ten years shows clearly how the removal of customs barriers and other impediments to international trading has boosted trade, particularly with this country's partners in the EEC.

While only 31.7 per cent of this country's exports went to EEC countries back in 1961 the figure had risen to 40.1 per cent by last year.

And the Federal Republic's Common Market partners even managed to increase their proportion of exports to this country to 46.6 per cent of total West German imports.

Although the Efta countries' significance on the West German export-import scene declined considerably these countries still managed to make a major contribution towards our balance of trade surplus.

The importance of the East Bloc countries for West German foreign trade has not changed to any significant extent. Since 1961 the proportion of trade with Comecon, both on the export and the import side, has hovered around the four-per-cent mark.

The most important customer for West German goods and services is as always France. 12.5 per cent of West German exports go to France. The Dutch are still very good customers, followed by the United States, Belgium-Luxemburg and Italy.

When West German exports are taken as a proportion of the total imports of our trade partners it can be seen that the proportion enjoyed by Federal Republic exporters is considerably higher than the export quota enjoyed by our partners. (The exception to the rule is the United States).

While only two per cent of West Germany's imports come from Austria this country's goods make up 45 per cent of their total imports. In the case of Switzerland the proportion is 3:32 per cent. In the case of Yugoslavia 1:22 per cent.

Even countries that are as geared to foreign trade as France and Italy import about twice as much from West Germany as they export here.

This fact is even more remarkable when it is remembered that these two countries are relatively speaking the most important exporters to this country.

The greatest increase in the past ten years has been in West Germany's trade with — need it be said? —Japan. The Japanese have scored a 574 per cent increase in the proportion of their exports to West Germany — though, largely owing to their very low level of supplies to this country ten years ago, they have only increased their proportion of the West German imports by 2.1 per cent.



Apart from the enterprise of businessmen who are keen to expand their export markets and apart from the fact that this country's prices are relatively stable the main reason for the great boost to West German exports is almost certainly the wide range of goods available.

About 96 per cent of this country's exports are products of industry. 85.6 per cent leave the country as finished products. And 55.5 per cent of them are capital investment goods.

As far as imports are concerned the proportion of agricultural, forestry, hunting and fishery produce has been cut back from 24.5 to thirteen per cent in the past ten years. On the other hand the proportion of imported industrial produce has increased from 13.3 to 23.[illegible] per cent and the proportion of finished products has gone up from *35.1* to [illegible] per cent.

Lothar Julitz

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 March 1972)

Increased farm produce exports are a Pyrrhic victory

At the same time as the government's agriculture report was published and the public in this country was made aware of the awkward state of affairs in which West Germany's agriculture finds itself a far more encouraging piece of news came from the Green Front.

West Germany's agricultural produce exports in 1971 were up by seventeen per cent, it was reported. Agricultural produce worth five milliard Marks was exported from the Federal Republic last year.

Three milliard Marks-worth went to other European Economic Community countries. The best customers for farm produce from West Germany were the Italians. They alone took over one milliard Marks-worth of farm produce from us.

The Ministry of Agriculture in Bonn issues a detailed report of the amount brought in by agricultural exports every year. But unofficial sources must be consulted for the details of the cost of the farm produce export drive. "We have nothing to with this," admits Erwin Reuss, a spokesman for Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl.

The cost of the "green policy" to the taxpayers of West Germany has been calculated by agricultural researcher Ernst Zurek from the Research Community for Agricultural Policy and Sociology in Bonn and published in his study *Die wirtschafts- und agrarpolitische Bedeutung des Außenhandels mit landwirtschaftlichen Überschußgütern* (The economic and farm policy significance of foreign trade with surplus agricultural produce).

In 1969, according to Herr Zurek's calculations, State expenditure on the Green Front was 7,300 million Marks with additional fiscal contributions of one milliard Marks.

The cost to the central and local government now for the EEC agricultural policy is about 25 milliard Marks annually, Herr Zurek estimates. His estimate for the cost in 1980 is between 36 and 42 milliard Marks.

Not only do EEC citizens have a hard time of it footing the bill for these agricultural exports but they also have to pay unified prices for farm produce that are far from low.

When it comes to exports to non-EEC countries where the prices for farm produce are low they really have to pay through the nose. For every hundred Marks of export income it is necessary to pay about fifty Marks in subventions.

Only in this way can the EEC make its exporters competitive on the international market. What they cannot get from sales because prices in recipient countries are low is made up by the export grants. As far as the exportation of grain, butter and sugar is concerned every hundred Marks raised at world market prices requires subsidies of more than one hundred Marks.

Last year the Federal Republic's farm produce exporters received 600 million Marks in export grants for business beyond the Common Market frontiers. In 1970 the figure was close on 900 million Marks. The amount paid in grants increases and declines according to the mountain of surplus farm produce.

The year before last the taxpayer was called on to contribute 600 million Marks in grants to get rid of the surplus of sugar and grain. Last year the pork mountain cost the taxpayer thirty million Marks.

But quite apart from these direct grants there is the subsidy on agricultural exports to be taken into account. In 1969 Bonn paid about 2,600 million Mark for the agricultural structural policy and 2,200 million Marks for interventions on the domestic market, for example for the storage and destruction of surplus agricultural produce.

Helmut Fahrnschon, a champion of agricultural exports and business manager of the West German Agricultural Central Marketing Board (CMA) points out that despite the millions it cost getting rid of the Federal Republic pork mountain has had a "stabilising effect on prices".

Thomas Schlier of the working committee of Consumers Associations (AGV) says on the other hand that "exportation pushes up prices".

Unlike the expenditure on farm produce exports the amount of money spent on export publicity is well known.

Advertising agents working for the CMA will spend 51 million Marks this year exhorting West Germans to "eat better" and a further 25 million Marks encouraging people abroad to "eat well, drink well — try West Germany's specialities".

The taxpayer will have to find 24 million Marks towards the CMA budget. The rest is provided by the West German foodstuffs industries.

The CMA grants sugar factories 25 Pfennigs per 1,000 kilograms of sugarbeet — breweries 75 Pfennigs for 100 kilograms of malt and dairies one Mark for 1,000 kilograms of milk. For each slaughtered head of livestock there is a price, ranging from thirty Pfennigs for sheep to 3.30 Marks for a cow.

The 25 million Marks spent by CMA on advertising abroad does not go on anonymous agricultural produce such as pig meat or milk but for the processed products.

CMA business manager Helmut Fahrnschon said: "The best opportunity on the agricultural export market lies with processed, refined products."

The big hits among West German agricultural exports are *Wurst* and beer, Emmental cheese and soft cheese. The best customer for cheese is Italy. West German cheese manufacturers enjoy as big a turnover in Italy as the French do in this country.

But the extensive export of specialised products is little consolation for the basic shortcomings of the EEC agricultural policy. It is excessive EEC prices that bring about surpluses. The safety valve is outside countries.

The costs are lost in the mists of the national and Community agricultural funds.

Herr Zurek said: "When no one knows despite the work of national and international officials, the exact details of the cost of the operation and no one can be brought to book for public expenditure of 500 million Marks — the Federal Republic's export grants for instance — and for what quantities of agricultural produce this money is spent it is clear that reforms are necessary."

Brussels introduced reforms — higher prices.

Gerda Strack

(Die Zeit, 31 March 1972)

■ BUSINESS

Major companies baulk at revealing accounts

Rudolf August Oetker, the head of blancmange factories, breweries, banks, insurance companies and shipping firms complained: "Now it is much easier for foreign firms to buy us up."

His anger was directed at the new legislation compelling even the most discreet of West Germany's company bosses to publish their annual returns this year for the first time and at the *SPD/FDP* government that got the new law passed.

Like millionaire Oetker it is mainly the conservative heads of family firms that fear this new legislation will give a helping hand to foreign competitors. They will now be able to see the hands of West German rivals without being obliged to lay their own cards on the table.

Among the firms that have up till now kept their balance sheets a closely guarded secret are obstinately silent companies such as the Werhahn Trade and Industry Dynasty in Neuss, the chain store group Hertie and the private bank Merck, Finck & Co., Munich.

Under pressure from Bonn other firms will be coming clean, including such famous names as Henkel, Melitta, Miele, Reemtsma, van Delden, Günter Wagner, Quelle and Burda, all of which are family firms.

Up till this new law was introduced it was only joint-stock companies, *Aktiengesellschaften* and *Kommanditgesellschaften* (AG and KG) that had to publish detailed figures of their year's business.

But spectacular bankruptcies involving famous names, such as that of the once booming shipbuilders Willi Schlieker and the historic car manufacturers Carl Borgward as well as the Krupp crisis of 1967 led to more and more voices being raised in favour of compulsory publication for all companies, irrespective of their legal status.

When the proponents of publication presented their Bill they justified it in this way: "Compulsory publication of the financial state of a company will make unethical business deals more difficult to carry out."

The lobby of industrialists in the Bundestag, however, were so successful in their attempts to alter the government draft in many of its important points that many silent giants will in future still be spared a complete striptease.

A limited company in which two out of three criteria of size apply (250 million Marks turnover, 125 million Marks balance sheet total and 5,000 employees) on three consecutive term days must publish their balance sheet with a profit and loss account.

Other companies on the other hand are obliged to publish turnover, yield, wage and salary bills and contributions to social welfare from their profit and loss account.

Trades unions were particularly critical of the way the teeth had been drawn from this legislation, Dr Friedhelm Farthmann, the business manager of the Trades Union Institute for Economics and Social Sciences, said: "This was a poor compromise. As long as companies are treated as private areas we will never break the taboo and get any further."

If Herr Farthmann had his way far more companies would have to publish detailed figures than the one hundred or so now obliged to do so.

The draft presented by the West German Trades Unions Confederation provided yardsticks of size that would be reached in far more cases — turnover of 150 million Marks per annum, a balance sheet total of 75 million Marks and 2,000 employees. Companies exceeding these figures would be obliged to reveal all.

On the other hand without being forced to do so by the publication legislation a number of firms have in the past published details of their profits and losses.

Without doubt the firm with the longest experience of striptease à la Bonn is Robert Bosch GmbH, which published its figures as long ago as 1937 as if it were an *Aktiengesellschaft*.

The newest recruit to these ranks is Otto Versand, the Hamburg mail-order and wholesale firm, which published its first annual trading figures exactly twelve months before the obligatory deadline.

This was a gesture by the Hamburg company to show that they were not trying to keep their vital statistics secret from the general public till the last possible minute.

But a veil of silence still hangs over one of West Germany's most secretive industrial empires, the Quandt group whose influence ranges from BMW and Daimler-Benz motors to Varta, the battery manufacturers, from the Karlsruhe Industriewerke to the children's food firm Milupa.

Herr von Heusinger, the Manager of Quandt, said: "We don't consider ourselves a concern." And he has good reason for not wanting Quandt to be looked on as a concern. The new publication legislation enforces publication only on those firms that "are under a unified company management".

One would look in vain for the name of an umbrella firm, such as that of the Flick Concern on the Flick KG building, on the facade of the Günther-Quandt-Haus in Bad Homburg.

Quandt's point of view does not meet with a great deal of sympathy from the proponents of the publication legislation. Ministerial Councillor Herbert Biener from the Ministry of Justice in Bonn said: "A shareholder who not only controls his wealth but takes an active part in decision-making will presubmably be looked upon as an industrialist."

But Herr Quandt obviously does not want to come to blows on this matter. Herr von Heusinger has said that within two or three years at the latest the Quandt concern will present the public with a breakdown of its trading for the year.

In order to escape the compulsion to publish its figures the company that is probably the most silent of all, the chain stores C & A (Brenninkmaeyer) were even prepared to go so far as to change their legal status.

The company, which was re-formed after the War as a GmbH, suddenly up as a *Kommanditgesellschaft* (limited partnership company) just after the law came into force. So it is still able to keep all the figures for profit and loss to itself.

On the other hand a number of other firms cannot keep their statistics secret from their rivals for much longer without going through intricate legal tergiversations.

For instance Coca-Cola GmbH in Essen has only just avoided being eligible for publication. It had long since exceeded the magic figure for turnover, but only recently moved over the legal limits for balance sheet total and the number of people employed.

The Munich chain of chicken-on-a-spit restaurants Wienerwald has also just qualified for publication. Last year it exceeded two of the three requirements for the first time and will be due to publish its first set of figures in 1973.

A number of West German subsidaries of foreign firms have already qualified. Among these are B.A.T. cigarettes, Maizena which belongs to the American food chain Corn Products, the Woolworth chainstores, IBM-Germany, the Nestle group, Saba which is a subsidiary of General Telephone & Electronics in New York and ITT.

Now that major companies are forced to publish their returns many of them have decided to make a splash. Instead of a simple insertion in the *Bundesanzeiger*, which is all they are obliged to come up with they have decided to follow the lead of the great joint-stock companies and place large advertisements in the economic press, with a breakdown of their trading for the year prepared by experts to boost their image.

Companies including Quelle and Melitta have decided to make their performance for the year known at press conferences.

Public relations officers are hoping for a big come-uppance as a result of the extension of publication requirements. The PR men are already engaged on a massive campaign to woo companies, and in particular those that have little experience in baring their heart and soul to the public.

Hans Otto Eglau

(Die Zeit, 17 March 1972)

New limited companies Bill lacks teeth

Minister of Justice Gerhard Jahn has introduced a limited companies Bill in the Bundestag which has caused the employers associations to raise a howl of disapproval, though in reality they are quite content.

Concrete proof of this silent vote of approval was provided by official statistics which state that last year 12,500 new limited companies were formed, bringing the total of these *Gesellschaften mit beschränkter Haftung* to a new record of 88,500.

Thus while Gerhard Jahn and his colleagues were carrying out the preparatory ministerial work for this Bill there was no flood of refugees from the GmbH legal setup — quite the opposite in fact.

One reason why this should be so is that the original plans announced by the Ministry of Jusstice have been modified to such an extent that they now are limited to an adjustment of the previous GmbH legislation to the legal situation and requirements of the present day.

In concrete terms little is being amended apart from the provision of greater protection for creditors, and the valuation and publication requirements being introduced do not even go so far as the reform of shares legislation in 1965 which was thought not to go far enough.

Workers in the companies affected are not likely to find their position bettered to any significant extent as a result of the government's Bill. The most significant control rights remain with the shareholders, and policy decisions will be taken at their meetings as before.

One ray of hope for workers is that in the accompanying justification to the Bill the Justice Ministry makes mention of preparatory work now being carried out for a far-reaching piece of legislation quite independent of previous legal procedures in which regulations for worker participation in management will have a role to play.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 17 March 1972)

Grundig profits to go to Grundig Foundation

DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG
Christ und Welt

From 1 April this year the work of the Grundig Group in Fürth has been under a constitutional monarchy system. Even though Max Grundig has handed over virtually all the companies in this country and abroad that previously belonged to him to the Grundig Foundation he remains more or less the sole boss. For 64 year-old Max Grundig is the business manager of the Foundation for life.

Only after Max Grundig's death will this *Kuratorium* take on the form of a kind of supervisory body and manage the Foundation.

The purpose of this non-public Foundation is in the main to control the finances of the Foundation, about which no details are published, apart from the balance sheet of the Grundig Werke GmbH on 31 March 1971.

All that is known is that the Ministry of the Interior in Bavaria has given legal rights to the Grundig Foundation. As a result of this legal protection and recognition the Grundig Foundation is, so to speak, a legally autonomous group of properties belonging to itself.

All profits from the Grundig companies, which employ 25,000 people, are to be passed on to the Grundig Foundation, and dating from 1 April 1972 the Grundig companies will be managed by Grundig AG, Fürth.

The monies accruing to the Foundation will be fed back into the company in the form of loans.

The Grundig family concern holds only 550,000 Marks of the total share capital of Grundig AG, 182,400,000 Marks.

Even after capital raising outside the stock exchange in the first business year of the *Aktiengesellschaft* 1972/73 (31 March) the percentage held by members of the Grundig family will remain under five per cent. This will mean the issuing of twelve million Marks-worth of shares carrying no voting rights and receiving a dividend of eighteen per cent.

It is self-evident that Max Grundig is also Chairman of the supervisory board of Grundig. His second-in-command is Berthold Beitz, the Chairman of Krupp, who is a member of the Kuratorium along with such names as Baron Georg von Ullmann, the Cologne banker and former Bavarian Minister Otto Schedl.

This idea is new to the Federal Republic. The company presidium consists of four people, three members of the supervisory board and the Chairman of the Board Hans-Heinz Griesmeier and takes the form of a permanent sub-committee of the supervisory board according to Paragraph 107 of shares legislation. Its tasks are executive and supervisory like an American Board of Directors.

Rapid decisions are in fact useful and could be vital in the attempt to improve the company's turnover, which stagnated in 1971/72 at 1,140 million Marks, by ten per cent and improve the situation with regard to profits.

The balance sheet of Grundig Werke GmbH of 31 March 1971 showed no increase in the basic capital of 137 million Marks with a balance sheet total of 842 million Marks.

On the positive side there were property investments totalling 203,700,000 Marks, cash deposits of 187,500,000 Marks and stocks of 236 million Marks.

In the business year 1971/72 stocks were cut back by 125 million Marks which improved the company's position with regard to ready cash.

(Deutsche Zeitung, 31 March 1972)

ENVIRONMENT

Anti-pollution legislation is difficult to enforce

Environmental protection is first and foremost a matter of protecting Man from himself. What is the best way to go about it? To pass laws and enforce them.

In days gone by custom and the Law came to provide increasingly effective protection of life, limb and property. The time has now come for a whole series of legislative measures to pave the legal way for survival itself in today's industrial and consumer society.

As long ago as the early sixties one of Willy Brandt's general election slogans was "Blue. Skies over the Ruhr." Immediately on coming to power in 1969 Chancellor Brandt proved that the environment was still an important consideration for the Social Democrats by centralising responsibility for all relevant aspects of government policy.

Minister of the Interior Hans-Dietrich Genscher was given far-reaching powers as the Minister responsible for the environment and a Cabinet sub-committee on the environment was called into being.

These two immediate moves by the new government bore witness to the intention of the Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn to attach major importance to environmental protection.

Within a year of assuming power the SPD-FDP coalition had drawn up a catalogue of measures designed for immediate implementation and before two years were out a long-term environmental protection programme had been drafted.

While the long-term programme pays particular attention to research and planning the initial catalogue was intended as a check-list for getting to immediate legislative grips with the most pressing aspects, such as exhaust fumes, garbage, water and atmospheric pollution and last but by no means least industrial noise.

On all these points legislation has either been passed or is on its way through Parliament. The rate at which progress has been achieved and the degree of inter-party agreement bear impressive witness to the efficacy of the parliamentary system where really crucial issues are involved.

Free Democrat Genscher, the Minister responsible, has shown an admirable spirit of compromise in mediating between demands for immediate and drastic action and the manufacturers' need to operate economically.

This spirit of compromise came to light in the passage of the first item of legislation forming part of the initial catalogue, the Bill on the lead content in petrol.

The motor industry was up in arms at the idea of a drastic reduction in the lead content of petrol. By way of compromise a two-stage plan was agreed. Since 1 January 1972 the maximum legal amount of lead permitted per litre of fuel has been 0.4 grammes. Not until 1976 will the legal limit be reduced to 0.15 grammes of lead per litre.

A gradual reduction in petrol leading is, of course, only a partial solution to the problem of exhaust fumes.

It remains incumbent on the powers that be to deal with the carbon monoxide fumes that result from combustion, not to mention the sulphur and soot given off by diesel oil.

This particular item of legislation presented no further problems. The Garbage Disposal Act and the Atmospheric Pollution and Noise Abatement Act required amendments to Basic Law, the constitution.

The Parliamentary Council that drafted Basic Law was not conversant with the problems of environmental protection and since no provisions were made such legislation as was to prove necessary remained the responsibility of the Federal states.

Stating the case for a constitutional amendment in a Bundestag debate Herr Genscher noted that "Everyone will appreciate that there is no point in dealing with garbage disposal differently in Lower Saxony and, say, the Rhineland-Palatinate ... It is our duty to ensure uniformity by means of a constitutional amendment on this point."

Early this March the Bonn Parliament unanimously approved the amendment and the Federal government has now assumed full responsibility.

The Garbage Disposal Act was then passed. By the terms of the Act the powers that be, in particular local authorities, are obliged to dispose of all garbage in a manner that does no damage to the environment.

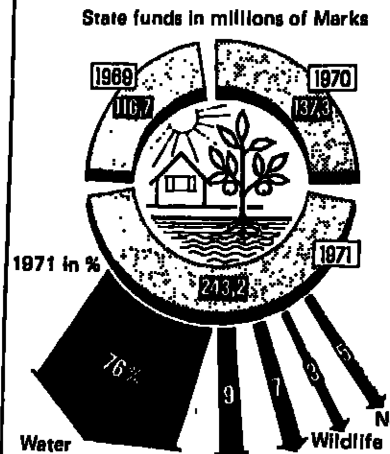
Unauthorised tipping renders the offender liable to a fine of up to 50,000 Marks and causing a health hazard can involve five years' imprisonment.

Local authorities have to bear the brunt of the Act's provisions. They are, however, empowered to charge up increased costs to industrial and domestic garbage producers (for want of a better word).

The most important part of the initial catalogue is the Atmospheric Pollution and Noise Abatement Act. By the terms of the Act all equipment, whether a factory or a piece of machinery, must be so constructed as to reduce to a minimum the harmful effect of its operation on ho environment.

Offences against the Act render the offender liable to a prison sentence of up to ten years. Even minor offences can lead to fines of up to 100,000 Marks.

This particular piece of legislation has



not yet scaled all the parliamentary hurdles, though. At present it is still at committee stage. The Bill is being discussed by no fewer than five Bundestag sub-committees.

The Waterways Act (Fourth Amendment) Bill passed its first reading in he Bundestag on 19 January 1972. It is currently being debated by the Bundestag home affairs committee.

This Bill is designed to prevent pollution of waterways and water reserves – or at least to cut down pollution – and to intensify the storage provisions for materials that might endanger water supplies were they to seep down to the water-table.

Nature conservancy also forms an integral part of environmental protection. A uniform piece of legislation is currently in preparation at the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry.

Details have not yet been released but in principle the idea is to ensure that landscapes that have assumed their present form in the course of centuries of cultivation and development are not reduced to waste land merely because agriculture is no longer an economic proposition for farmers who have workod the land for generations.

Bonn's legislative machinery, it can be seen, is running at full speed as far as environmental protection is concerned, but of course, a law on the statute book does not necessarily on its own represent an improvement.

It must be implemented and enforced. Costly inspection machinery must be carefully developed. An army of environmental protection officers must be trained. All these take time, money and a cool head.

Were the individual not to think in terms of environmental protection too it would all be in vain. Environmental protection must come to be considered as much a matter of course as respect for life and property.

Günter Geschke

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 26 March 1972)

Ten-point plan

Bonn's long-term environmental protection programme consists of ten points: –

1. Environmental policy is defined as "the sum total of measures necessary to ensure for Mankind an environment compatible with good health and civilised living." Nature is to be protected from harmful inroads and damage that has already been done is to be countered.
2. As a matter of principle costs are to be met by the party responsible for the environmental hazards in question.
3. The environmental programme is not to be enforced at too high a cost to the economy. The government's financial, taxation and infrastructure policy must lend a hand.
4. Technological progress and economic growth must henceforth be brought about in a manner designed to involve the least possible harm to the environment.
5. A major aim must be to foster civic awareness of the importance of environmental protection.
6. An advisory council of environmental specialists will provide the government with the facts needed for decision-making.
7. A comprehensive system of data and information will be at the disposal of not only the government but also science and industry.
8. Additional training facilities are to be provided for environmental specialists.
9. The Federal government, state and local authorities must cooperate closely not only with one another but also with science and industry.
10. International cooperation is likewise indispensable.

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 26 March 1972)

Cathedral conservation

Conservation specialists have scrutinised the tower of Frankfurt cathedral with an eye to deciding how best to conserve the sandstone masonry.

Stone, timer and even iron have been eaten away by sulphuric acid hailing from car exhaust fumes. Sandstone, it is already clear, will not do as a replacement.

It is felt to be scientifically proven that the natural sandstone used by medieval masons has a life expectancy of only thirty years under current atmospheric conditions.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 17 March 1972)

WORLD CLEANING

Electricity dangers

Were every household in the coun to become all-electric atmosphe pollution would increase to 124 times present level, according to Hans Co Wulff, business manager of the fuel tr association.

Speaking in Stuttgart, Herr Wulff no that power stations are at present o able to utilise forty per cent of the given off by conventional fuels in gene ing electricity.

This, he said, is why power sta additional fuel requirements would to so drastic an increase in atmosph pollution.

His association favours nationa legislation to keep a continual check all heating devices as is now done North Rhine-Westphalia.

Atmospheric pollution, it claims, is a matter of the fuel used but of the w in which it is used.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 March 19

Exhaust-free car

Erich Dolderer, a Baden-Württemb engineer, plans to construct, with aid of VFW-Fokker of Bremen, a virtu exhaust-free car.

According to the firm Dolderer, wh a lecturer at Esslingen and Wuppe technical colleges, has approa VFW-Fokker aero engineers fo sistance.

The most serious problem facing concept of a liquid gas-fuelled car is t tank, Dolderer maintains. VFW's Le werder research laboratories, which ha specialised for some time in tanks satellites and aircraft, are to lend a h

The tank would have to withstan pressure of fifty atmospheres. A full ta would equal in range a fifty-litre (twel gallon) tank of conventional fuel.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 16 March 19

Litter louts to pay

Three out of four people of voting are of the opinion that those w cause pollution should foot the b According to a survey on environmen protection conducted by the Infas mark research organisation of Bad Godesb 76 per cent of the sample questione were in favour of the guilty parties payi the price.

Only fourteen per cent of the samp young people for the most part, were the opinion that the cost of enviro mental protection should be met out o public funds. Ten per cent of a total 1,124 people questioned were don't knows.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 March 197

Refuse increase

There will be twice as much refuse 1980 as there was in 1970, accordi to the Town Planning Institute in Bo By 1980 there will be between twe and thirty million tons of garbage pe annum, or between a third and half a t per head of population.

Put another way every man, wom and child in this country will by the en of the decade be statistically responsib for three and a quarter cubic yards o trash per annum.

These estimates have been compiled b the garbage disposal project group com missioned to examine this and allied problems by the Bonn Ministry of the Interior.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 22 March 197

AVIATION

Zeppelins for export are being built in the Ruhr

The Ruhr will shortly be able to add yet another item to its copious list of exports to all parts of the world. The airship is the article in question and Theodor Wüllenkemper, head of Westdeutsche Luftwerbung, a skywriting firm based at Mülheim airport, Essen, is the man who is convinced that the bulky descendent of the Zeppelin is capable of competing with the latest in jet airliners.

He and a team of more than 200 operatives are in the process of assembling the WDL 1, a s... -metre (197-foot) prototype that will, it is claimed, inaugurate a new era of airship advertising around the country.

The second prototype must be ready for despatch to a Japanese customer by 15 August. In Tokyo it will be fitted out with an environmental laboratory and carry out atmospheric measurements and the like. The third airship is bound for France, the fourth for Japan again and options have been placed for may more.

"This," Theodor Wüllenkemper proclaims, "is the start of a renaissance in airship construction." Recalling the famous but tragic achievements of Zeppelin airships up to and including the holocaust of the *Hindenburg* in New York in 1937, he adds that "We must utilise the experience of old airship men while they are still around to be of assistance."

Wüllenkemper does not only employ old hands, though. He has young aircraft



mechanics from Britian and Australia, men who are fascinated as he is be the airship idea, on his payroll too.

The design principle adopted by Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin in 1900 was that of a rigid structure and this was the design that took the Zeppelin from strength to strength. The drawback is that the skeleton hull is so heavy that a Zeppelin can only take on a payload equivalent to thirty per cent of its overall volume.

The design for which Wüllenkemper and his associates have opted is a development by Richard Gründer of Augsburg of the flabby collapsible dirigible that does not contain metal scaffold and is consequently capable of conveying fifty per cent and more of its overall uplift.

The first dirigible of this kind was designed in direct competition to the Zeppelin by Major August von Parseval of the Rhineland-Palatinate in 1906. The idea was subsequently taken up by the Americans who during the Second World War built a dirigible containing no less than 40,000 cubic metres (52,000 cibic yards) of gas.

In comparison with aircraft, however, the airship took a statistical nosedive while the aircraft went from strength to strength. In the end the only use to which airships were put was advertising.

It was in this context that Theodor Wüllenkemper, whose aircraft operate on short sightseeing and business hops from Mülheim airport, Essen, first thought in terms of airship construction.

His aim is to develop cigar-shaped dirigibles 120 metres (394 feet) long and 28 metres (92 feet) wide. These enormous craft will boast a volume of 64,000 cubic metres (83,200 cubic yards) and although they themselves will only weigh twenty-one metric tons they will be capable of carrying a payload of thirty tons.

Twin 700-horse-power engines will take the airship to a top speed of 140 kilometres an hour, equivalent to 85 knots, and the craft's range will be 2,600 kilometres, or roughly 1,650 miles.

Additional fuel can be taken on board in thousand-litre hoses that can either be jettisoned or rolled up after use.

As required the airship will be available either as a freighter for transporting merchandise to inaccessible areas or as a roomy passenger liner in which 200 passengers can dine at table during flight. The freighter version will cost about three and a half million Marks; a gigantic helicopter for the same purpose would cost between sixty and eighty million.

Would it be safe? Almost the first thing the general public associates with the airship is the holocaust of the *Hindenburg* as it crashed and burst into flames near Lakehurst, New York, in 1937.

Contemporary airship specialists point out that dirigibles are now filled with helium, which does not burn, rather than the highly inflammable hydrogen that was responsible for the *Hindenburg* disaster.

It would never have been possible to construct frameless airships of this isze, they add, had it not been for the development of tough chemical fibres of synthetic rubber and other materials. The new materials will be far tougher and more durable than the pre-war cotton fabric.

The sixty-metre prototype was assembled – glued together, perhaps one should say – in a Ruhr dockyard and inflated in an inflatable hangar 85 metres long. Fitted out with a specially designed lighting system consisting of 10,000 bulbs and electronically operated the prototype will illuminate the night sky with advertising for one customer after another.

The construction team are working eight weeks behind schedule but the delay was due to procrastination by the local authorities. Essen refused to allow the inflatable hangar to be erected on its part of the airport, the argument being that the city is anxious in the interest of environmental well-being to prevent any further expansion of the airport.

Neighbouring Mülheim, co-shareholder in the airport holding company along with Essen and North Rhine-Westphalia, is interested in promoting airship construction in order to boost employment and accordingly made a site on its side of the border between the two cities available.

So the tax revenue accruing from Theo Wüllenkemper's airship export sales will be netted by Mülheim rather than by Essen.

Friedrich Kassebeer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 29 March 1972)

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THINGS SEEN

Exhibition of James Ensor works in Stuttgart

Fascination at the paintings and drawings of Flemish artist James Ensor (1860-1949) has been growing in the past fifty years in Germany as well as other countries. As time went on the works matured, their understanding achieved greater depth, their judgements took on a greater degree of certainty.

The first exhibition of collected works of Ensor in Germany was in Hanover at the Kestner Society in 1927. Then the public could see in this painter of enigmatic crowd scenes and masquerades an artist who was a precursor of the *Menschheitsdämmerung* (The twilight of mankind).

As such his ideas were in accordance with those of the German men of letters whose rebellion was marked by eruptions, ecstasies, hatred, a new longing for humanity with dissipation of speech leading up to the dissipation of the world, to use the words of Gottfried Benn, the Expressionist writer.

Visitors to the latest West German exhibition of Ensor's work at the Württembergischer Kunstverein in Stuttgart will have realised that a comparison of the spiritual content of the Flemish artist's work with that of French poet Arthur Rimbaud is nearer the point than quoting the German writer Georg Heym, as did Wilhelm Fraenger in a contribution he made to the Ensor exhibition in Hanover.

Uwe M. Schneede was the initiator and organiser of the Stuttgart Ensor exhibition and deserves praise for his work. He claims that the motivation behind it is that James Ensor's work has become of topical interest again. Ensor was an artist who "expressed the subjects of conflict between the individual and society, which were particularly explosive in his day, in a way that was prudently pictorial".

During his lifetime James Ensor felt himself to be an involved member of the middle classes of the city of his birth, Ostend. Apart from his years of study at the Academy in Brussels between 1877 and 1880 he only left Ostend very occasionally for a short trip.

He took it as self-evident that he, the son of the owner of a souvenir shop of English origin, who had married a girl from Ostend, should belong to the middle classes in the Belgian coastal town.

But Ostend society had no sympathy with Ensor. They persecuted him, despised him and hated him. Even his colleagues and his critics for decades misunderstood what he tried to do and what he succeeded in doing.

He was deeply hurt by the world around him and turned in on himself more and more. In order to fight the conditions in which he lived he had to retreat to worlds of dreams and visions and, as a painter he ploughed the field from which the Surrealists were later to reap their spectral fruits.

In the 67 paintings, 97 sketches, 79 etchings and 32 coloured lithographies that Dr Schneede has managed to acquire, in the main from Belgian galleries and private collections, there is a power that says more about the personal struggle and suffering of James Ensor than a dry biography ever could.

Even in the early pictures it is clear that Ensor who did not join up with any school but received and passed on stimuli and had a sovereign power over styles and influences had a particular character and sensitivity to moods to which he subjected himself whenever he began a new picture.

He kept his distance from the Paris school and Impressionism. A concrete experience from the depths of the soul was more important to him than the skilful recording of a momentary impression.

The Stuttgart collection contains almost all the important works by Ensor with the exception of the monumental painting *Christ's Entry into Brussels* and the two oil paintings *Christ calming the Storm* and *My Mother on her Deathbed.*

It shows that his creative impulse came at an incredible pace and reached its end after twenty years.

The individual stages can be seen in the works *Afternoon in Ostend*, a melancholy interior dating from 1881, the oil painting that depicts the tough life of a fisherman *The Oarsman* (1883) and *Christ Walking on the Water* (also 1883) which shows Ensor's debt to Turner.

The mania for depicting himself begins with a self-portrait from the same year *Ensor with the Floral Hat*, which looks at first glance like an amiable parody. This phase has still not reached its end with the *Portrait of the Artist Surrounded by Masks*, dating from 1899.

But from 1885 ownwards spooky visions did not leave him alone. On the actual masquerade pictures which the Ostend Carnival inspired in the artist the characters portrayed are obviously wearing masks.

But on the great composite etching *The Cathedral* (1886) and the sketches *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* and *Christ Being Exhibited to the Rabble* (1885) and the first study for *Christ's Entry into Brussels* (1886-88) the faces of the people depicted are so distorted that they look like devilish ghosts.

The works executed between 1885 and 1900 mark the high-spot of a powerful

Continued on page 11



Olympics re-viewed

A group of young scientists in Hamburg have organised an 'ironic' exhibition on the Ancient Olympics for the city's Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe. The exhibition emphasises the considerable difference between the ancient idea of the Games and the present commercialisation and 'nationalisation' of the sporting events.

(Photo: Christa Kujath)



A detail of the 1971 version of Francis Bacon's ***Study of a Red Pope 1962***

(Photo: Kn...)

Comprehensive Francis Bacon exhibition staged at Düsseldorf

In the central section of Francis Bacon's pictorial triptych, based on Thomas Stearns Eliot's drama *Sweeney Agonistes* there appear as a picture within a picture a monochrome blue-black tableau which takes in the whole background.

In the foreground of the picture one sees an indefinable bloody mess of flesh together with a skirt and a travelling bag on a chair.

The colour-field painting here proves, presumably intentionally, to be a quotation, a pictorial distancing from the horror of the foreground and a macabre, realistic scenery in the perspective of a raree-show.

In this triptych *Still Life* we can see articulated in characteristic manner that contrast that often comes through when looking at the work of this contemporary British artist, which is now on show for the first time to such an extent in West Germany at the Düsseldorf Kunsthalle. On numerous occasions Bacon has said that he is not in favour of abstract painting that effuses mere unfeeling aesthetics. But as the interpreters of Francis Bacon's work state he is also not in favour of literary and narrative art and does not create images by way of illustration. He does not want to be pigeonholed with the Expressionists. What does he want then? If one relies solely on what one sees without making reference to the catalogue and its introduction and the like one gets the impression of a melange of his structural properties. Bacon's painting remains expressionistic working with contrived colour values and completely monotone backgrounds. No abstract painting co[...] manage this in quite such a convi[...] manner. And in places Bacon's wo[...] of a quite narrative character.

But the surprising context of [...] pictures that basically tend toward[...] surrealistic cleverly creates a new [...] which does not correspond to the [...] in individual details.

Bacon has not done any drawing[...] graphic works. There are only note-bo[...] sketches that nobody knows and whi[...] the artist keeps to himself. Bacon h[...] destroyed virtually all of his pre[...] works.

Thus the Düsseldorf exhibition sh[...] works from the second half of the artis[...] lifetime. In fact most of the works [...] show were executed in or after 1964 [...] the artist, who is now 62.

So it is no wonder that we encou[...] an entity and a unity in the styl[...] world of Francis Bacon. His work ha[...] obvious sense of completeness and [...] is no question of looking into hi[...] workshop. The exception, the two [...]sions of the picture of the man who[...] with an umbrella in an abattoir in fr[...] of beef carcases, proves the rule.

In contrast to all that which Ba[...] leaves out of his work there is the g[...] series of links and traditions to be fou[...] in his work. The triptych is the clea[...] example of this.

Nevertheless in the triptych we do[...] see any scenic developments but on[...] variations of individual figures present[...] on a plate, distorted in mirror images and isolated in broad frescoes.

An irreality of space dominates Bacon's pictures and this is added to by the w[...] he works in constructions of artist[...] scaffolding to give perspective.

The writhing masses of humanity in [...] unreal space receive their own trans[...]ency through the removal of conc[...] tangible points. Fear of a literary in[...]pretation in Bacon's pictures leads t[...] artist ot the opposite extreme. Interp[...]tations slip in again by the back door. [...] in his portraits too Bacon remains co[...]sistent. The portraits of his friends, [...] rigid physiognomy of a pope are al[...] matter of artistic raw material which th[...] artist raises to a new sphere of horror [...] this is the dominating impression of th[...] Düsseldorf exhibition.

Bacon's distorted horror which has lo[...] been his predominant style turns his wo[...] into just what the artist wants to avoid: unfeeling and abstract aesthetics.

Wolfgang Stauch von Quitzow

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 24 March 19[...])

THINGS SEEN

Lange's new Trotsky play tends to be long-winded

Trotsky is once again being discussed, if only in the theatre. Hartmut Lange has now followed Peter Weiss' lead in turning to the subject. Peter Weiss reduced Trotsky's life to a series of flash-backs in his *Trotsky in Exile* premiered in 1970.

Hartmut Lange takes a different course. In his *Trotzsky in Coyoacon* he concentrates on the last weeks and last day in Trotzsky's life — right up to the time he is assassinated by a killer using an ice-axe in his Mexican refuge.

Unlike Weiss, Lange deals critically with Trotsky's attitude though not his Marxist ideology. His play was recently given its premiere in the Malersaal in Hamburg, a small theatre behind the city's Deutsches Schauspielhaus. Applause was sympathetic if nothing else.

Lange is concerned with Trotsky's Socialist beliefs as they appear in practice. The criticism is embodied in the figure of Otto Rühle who is made to say: "You sit here at the back of beyond and believe in reason, truth and human solidarity. You claim to be a Marxist. You would never tell your murderer a lie. I raise my hat to you but it would have been more important to have killed Stalin on 1927. Trotsky the murderer would now be more useful to the world than the pure Marxist angel in Coyoacon awaiting his execution by a GPU agent."

The conclusion is that the best theory of social practice is superfluous if it is not linked with the courage to put it into practice. Trotsky's exile in Coyoacon has become an ivory tower in which he incarcerated himself alive.

Lange is concerned with little else in his description of the last days of Trotsky. He tries to illustrate the results of this attitude in the execution by ice-axe. The action of his play is largely exhausted by this act.

It is more interesting to read the play than watch it. It has no structural unity. Repetition is occasionally used to characterise Trotsky's condition — but only occasionally.



Karl Maria Schley as Trotsky and Charles Bauer as Mercader

(Photo: Rosemarie Clausen)

What is more important is that Lange has failed to exalt the dialogue to such an extent that its theatrical substance is self-evident.

He constantly avoids presenting a didactic play by becoming engrossed in situations without explaining them. He tries to provide and destroy reality at the same time though in the end the general tenor is didactic. He wanted more than a didactic play but he achieved less.

Time will reveal the extent to which theatre productions will return to his play. In Hamburg the young producer Heinz Engels, seduced by Lange himself, seemed to go against the intentions of his subject when he spent much time engrossed in details.

The rhythm of the play's thought content was destroyed. The rhythm can not be presented descriptively if it is to develop. It must be kept tensely expectant of the final catastrophe, Trotsky's death. If his fails, the play seems long-winded despite the fact it lasts only one and a half hours.

Erich Emigholz

(Bremer Nachrichten, 27 March 1972)

Frankfurt jazz festival was a perplexing experience

Screams, roars, squeaks and hammering were heard in the Höchst Jahrhunderthalle as the avant-garde of European jazz sought musical communication with modern music at the end of the 1972 Frankfurt Jazz Festival. The session was chaotic and orgiastic. Perplexed listeners left the auditorium well before the end.

It has been known since the times of Cecil Taylor and Orriette Coleman that improvisation and the aleatory are elements that bring free jazz and modern music closer together.

The "Amm" and "Feedback" E-music ensembles and the Free Jazz Formation of Gunter Hampel, Alexander von Schlippenbach and Manfred Schoof proved in the final concert that the borders between the genres can be largely ignored.

David Johnson's electronic synthesiser and Jeanne Lee's erotic spontaneous singing showed what could be produced through the mutual influence of the two genres. The simple construction of Schoof's compositions, Hampel's bizarre sounds are the liberating aggression of the feed-back music proved that permeation has already taken place.

Purists will not be able to halt the development of various directions of music to total music, as all three days of the Festival showed. The young jazz musicians also guarantee this. Seven new groups presented music that had a high technical and musical standard.

"Interaction" of Frankfurt and "Contact" of Essen were particularly good. The unexpected appearance of Polish trombonist Andrzey Kurylewicz's ensemble also had its attraction.

Han Bennink moves incessantly. He blows giant Tibetan cooper horns and beats skins, brass, wood and the stage floor. He screams, suddenly interrupts himself, produces spherical tones and plainly expresses his displeasure at the television cameras hemming him in.

Bennink, the 29-year-old Dutch drummer, was for those people who had not seen him previously the most original and fascinating musician at the Festival. Together with saxophonist Peter Brötzmann and pianist Fred van Hove he produced gay, exciting music.

The six groups in the "Jazz goes Rock" concert appealed more to brawn than to brains but their music was more direct and more relaxing. Swing, sweet and soft music, electronic tamperings and hard Pop jazz entertained rock fans.

The two high points of the evening were the appearances of the "Association" with Pierre Courbois on the drums and Siggi Busch on the double-bass and "Kriegel, Dave and Friends" with their impressive introverted brand of music.

Wolfgang Dauner's "Etcetera", Klaus Doldinger's "Passport", the Frankfurt group "From" and the "Klaus Weiss Orchestra" played rock music, experimented and took care of the entertainment side of the evening.

Jazz fans were able to listen to almost twenty hours of jazz at the Festival. Those who were not exhausted could also attend the jam sessions in the Frankfurt Jazz Cellar that lasted well into the morning. Despite frequent obituaries, jazz proved that it is still alive, vital and flourishing.

Fritz Pfeifer

(Kieler Nachrichten, 28 March 1972)

Continued from page 10

artistic achievement, but it was to take a further twenty years before James Ensor received the recognition he deserved.

The first great selection of his works was shown in Brussels in 1920, followed by an exhibition in Paris in 1926 and the German "premiere" in Hanover one year later. In 1929 Ensor was given the title Baron by the King of the Belgians.

Citizens of Ostend then erected a monument in his honour in 1931 and when the Nazis came to power and Ensor pictures hanging in German galleries were confiscated Ensor was nominated an "artistic prince" by his fellow-countrymen.

The painter himself survived the War and the German occupation, dying in 1949 at the age of 89.

Wilhelm Eisenbarth

(Die Welt, 24 March 1972)

Theatre subsidies threatened with extensive cuts

Subsidy cuts are a threat now being faced by the theatre. Those affected are the hundred or so municipal theatres and the fifty private theatres in this country. The thirty state theatres and city theatres have no worries. Their subsidies have been increased or will be in future.

But what is the situation at individual theatres? Bremen's publicity-owned theatres were given a subsidy of almost nine million Marks in 1970. This figure was increased to 10.3 millions for 1971.

But there are also two private theatres in Bremen. The Niederdeutsches Theater received 357,000 Marks from lottery income in 1970 though this was cut to 330,000 for 1971. The Zimmertheater received fifty thousand Marks in 1970 and only twenty thousand in 1971.

Publicly-owned theatres in Hanover received subsidies totalling some eighteen and a half million Marks for the 1971-72 season. These are being raised to 19.7 million Marks for the 1972-73 season.

City theatres in Osnabrück, Hildesheim and Göttingen were given subsidies of up to six hundred thousand Marks and those in Lüneburg, Celle and Cuxhaven received between 100,000 and 170,000 Marks. Brunswick State Theatre received a subsidy of five million Marks in 1971 and seven million in 1972.

There are 23 theatres in the Federal state of Baden-Württemberg at present. All are subsidised by the Federal state and local authorities. The total figure for 1972 is about forty million Marks.

The Federal state contributes ten and a half million Marks towards the two State theatres in Stuttgart and the city authorities contribute the same total.

Freiburg pays its theatres four and a half million Marks and receives an extra two and a half million from the Federal state. Heidelberg pays its theatre 3.6 million Marks and contributes 675,000 Marks to the city orchestra.

The Tübingen Chamber Theatre made a reputation for itself at the Berlin Festival and the Frankfurt Experimenta. Like all other chamber theatres in Baden-Württemberg it receives 45,000 Marks.

Berlin's Deutsche Oper received some thirty million Marks in 1971 and will be given 32.8 million in 1972. The Schiller Theater received 8.7 million Marks in 1971, a figure that will be increased to ten million for 1972. The Schlosspark Theater received 3.6 million Marks for 1971 and four million this year. Some of the fifteen private theatres in West Berlin are not subsidised at all. The Theater am Kurfürstendamm, the Komödie and the Theater des Westens come into this category. Others receive subsidies of between forty and eighty thousand Marks for indivudual productions — the Renaissance and Hebbel theatres are backed this way — or receive various amounts of subsidy. The Tribüne for instance received 226,000 Marks in 1971.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 15 March 1972)



Jeanne Lee with the Gunter Hampel Group at the Frankfurt Jazz Festival

(Photo: Barbara Klemm)



■ MEDICINE

Dermatologists discuss acne and so-called 'cellulitis'

The third Dermatologists Congress arranged by Hamburg dermatologist Professor Gustav Hopf was recently held in Karlsruhe. A short congress organised by the Cosmetic Medicine Association was held at the same time. It is not only due to this combination that cosmetics does not remain in its own field – that of beautification. Cosmeticians often needed medical advice on skin disease. The congress discussed cellulitis as well as acne so feared by the younger generation.

Asking what concrete results a congress has had borders on a belief in science that is remote from reality. Often enough the only result of a congress is the recognition that the phenomena discussed still have not been given clear definition.

Cellulitis is a good example. The Karlsruhe congress led to no agreement on what it actually was and decided to name it "so-called" cellulitis. This caution has its reasons of course. The "itis" ending in medicine implies a process of acute inflammation. But cellulitis does not fit in with this definition.

Let us deal first with the outward appearance of cellulitis. Anatomist Professor G. Müller of Mainz described the changes in the connective tissue which is the basic cause of the complaint.

The fat cells in the fatty tissue of the hypodermis are enlarged, leading to islands of fat spreading over the derma. These fat stores mainly appear in the thighs and buttocks. If they are now pressed they can only escape outwards, leading to folds and wrinkles that can often be seen without any outside pressure. It is mainly women who are affected.

Professor Hopf recently described this condition in a medical journal, stating that this structure was typical for women's skin. It could no therefore be defined as an illness, he concluded.

This statement was rather outspoken and he met with opposition in Karlsruhe, Cellulitis, he had intimated, had only been invented in order to justify a specific course of treatment. Is this view defensible? Is cellulitis disease or not?

No binding answer was given at the congress but the experts did try to approach the condition from a variety of standpoints and trash out a definition that enjoyed a certain amount of unanimity.

Dermatologist Professor Wolfgang Nikolowski from Augsburg based his views on the present state of knowledge when he claimed that cellulitis was not a disease in the strictly medical sense of the word but a disorder with the character of a disease.

He adopted the definition of Munich dermatologist Professor Braun-Falco by describing cellulitis as a special type of fatty degeneration that is accompanied by a blockage of the lymph secretions and minimal oedema in the connective tissue necessitating treatment.

Tübingen dermatologist Professor W. Schneider enlarged upon this definition by pointing out that there was a link between the organic state and the mental reaction of the person affected by cellulitis. In other words, a woman with this condition feels that is is a disease and that, it seems, is what is important.

Cellulitis would have probably not come to the attentions of specialists if it had not been for Professor Hopf attacking the treatment for it. It was therefore little surprise that the heated discussion centred around treatment.

A pharmaceutical firm is now marketing a substance containing the enzyme hyaluronidase that has become known under the chemical abbreviation of isomucase or thiomucase. Hyaluronadase is able to scale down the basic substance contained in the connective tissue and a number of successes have been achieved in this way, though authorities deny this.

Berlin dermatologist Professor F. Nürnberger admitted that this substance reduced the extent to which cellulitis affected the legs but these results, he claimed, were not statistically proved, Nürnberger had achieved the same results with a similar-looking placebo.

Another Berlin dermatologist, Professor R, Kaden, now stepped in to state that he did not accept the validity of this placebo experiment. He believed that the problem was not to be solved by rejecting the enzyme substance. Professor Kaden also objected to describing cellulitis as an "invention".

Dr H.W. Kreysel of Hamburg claimed that the enzyme substance contained other ingredients that were mainly responsible for its side-effects. He did not believe that this course of treatment will result long-term success.

It must be stated that unwanted side-effects have been seen in four cases up to now in the form of sterile abcesses and flushes at the point where the substance is injected. But millions of women must have been treated with this substance. It has been in use in France for over ten years and in the Federal Republic for over three.

It is also known that the efficiency of such enzymes, which are after all proteins, decreases with the degree of purity and that on the other hand the effects can be improved by adding other protein ingredients. There is still no proof that the side-effects appearing in four cases were due to the enzyme preparation.

A report written by Professor Hopf was handed out at the congress. Referring to Professor Nürnberger's examinations, it states that proof is still needed of whether a considerably longer period of treatment with the enzyme would produce the effects ascribed to it as experiences abroad suggest. In other words, Professor Hopf is claiming that the problem must be pursued.

The round-table talk on acne chaired by Professor A. Proppe, the Kiel dermatologist, can be summed up in a few words. About 95 per cent of all acne cases occur shortly after puberty because of disorders in the large sebaceous glands.

Treatment is difficult as acne is dependent on mental and seasonal influences. There is still no sure cure and acne continues to be a source of concern to doctors and all young people suffering from it.

Alfred Pillmann

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 22. March 1972)

Numbers of people suffering from liver disorders increases

The rise in the number of liver complaints is giving cause for alarm in West Germany. A million patients suffer from their liver at present and this figure is increasing by about ten per cent every year.

The working hours lost as a result of liver complaints are increasing at the same rate. Mortality figures for cirrhosis of the liver have quadrupled since 1950.

Professor Erwin Kuntz of Schwäbisch-Hall tells of examinations on thirteen thousand people in Berlin that suggest that five per cent of the "healthy" population do in fact suffer from their liver.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 17 March 1972)

Suicide rate worries the Churches

West Germany has the highest suicide rate after Sweden and East Germany, Dr Fleck of Bad Krozingen told the more than one hundred advisers of the 32 West German Good Samaritan telephone services attending an ecumenical congress in Vierzehnheiligen.

The two major denominations regard the steadily rising suicide figures as a result of the "spiritual absence of other people". Hatred of life had reached epidemic proportions in the Federal Republic, they claim. Suicide attempts, alcoholism and drug abuse are symptoms of this.

The malaise of modern Man is the malaise of his relations to others, the Churches claim. It is not only those people who choose suicide as the only way out that must be helped. Those who are unable to give help must also be included.

The people ringing up the Good Samaritans telephone service are mainly those who are contemplating suicide and suffering from depression or a serious illness. There has been a drop in the number of callers who express sexual, social, family or religious problems. The number of callers rose by 16,571 in 1971 to a total of 121,571.

Over thirty Good Samaritan telephone services in West Germany are organised into two denominational groups specialising in this field.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 21 March 1972)

Drug problem conference in Hamburg reaches no concrete conclusions

The first West German Anti-Narcotics Congress recently held at Hamburg University did no more than reveal the helplessness with which doctors, psychologists, Release specialists, party ideologists from both left and right wings, lawyers and clergy view the drug problem.

While the New York correspondent of Norddeutscher Rundfunk was telling radio listeners about the latest medical evidence showing that methadon, an apparently harmless drug prescribed to heroin adicts in the United States, could lead to brain damage if taken regularly, the thousand or so delegates at the Anti-Narcotics Congress came to the conclusion that their views varied too much for them to suggest new ways to master the drug problem.

The Anti-Narcotics Congress organised by the Hamburg magazine *Konkret* and backed by the city authorities had such a promising start too. Scientists, Release experts and members of drug advisory contres had come from all parts of the Federal Republic, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Sweden.

Jochen Steffen, Social Democrat leader in Schleswig-Holstein, opened the congress with a sharp attack on the romantic and mystical ideology of the hashish prophets. Social change was, he said, only possible through exact analysis, sober strategy and courageous tactics and not through the mobilisation of mysticism and aggression.

A number of working groups, set up after months of preparation, discussed the latest state of drug research, the Release organisation and the mental and social reasons for drug dependence.

But even within these groups it became plain how difficult it was for instance for orthodox psychoanalysts and Marxist-inclined Release experts to agree even when they aimed at checking the consumption of drugs and the cure of drug dependents.

People in the working committee spoke at cross purposes and showed once again how difficult the fight against drug abuse will be. As a delegate at the congress stated, drug dependence is not only a medical, criminal, legal or sociological problem but a mixture of all these factors and much more.

No more than a start was made on developing proposals for treatment that showed some promise. The only thing to come out of the congress were a number of alarming statistics.

Latest estimates claim that about one and a half million West German minors have experiences with drugs. One tenth of them must be classed as chronically dependent.

Successful cures are few and far between. For every lasting cure there are about three hundred fresh cases involving drug dependency. Violations of the narcotics laws have increased by about two hundred per cent since 1960.

The congress agreed that all traditional methods employed by medicine had failed. Tightening up the laws did not seem to have a decisive influence on drug-taking either.

(Münchner Merkur, 21 March 1972)

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■ EDUCATION

Hamburg's leisure-time scheme comes in for criticism

Hamburg's education authorities have for the past nine years undertaken the only attempt in West Germany to organise young people in leisure-time groups outside school hours.

The number of these groups has rocketed from year to year. The latest figures show that there are some 3,150 leisure-time groups at 442 Hamburg schools.

It was decided to attach the groups to schools because of the accommodation, staff and facilities then available. The schools also have the advantage of being distributed evenly throughout the city. They can be used at little additional expense on free afternoons, weekends and during school holidays.

A leisure-time group normally meets once a week for one or two hours. It lasts a whole term – that is the nine, ten or eleven weeks between January and Easter, Easter and the summer holidays and the summer holidays and Christmas.

Attendance is voluntary but once the decision is taken the pupil should turn up for the group he has chosen for the whole term. The minimum number of pupils per group is fifteen.

Teachers or adults control the groups, receiving a fee of 27 Marks for two hours. Only eight per cent of the groups are not headed by teachers.

The education authorities prefer leisure-time groups in which children can be active. There is a wide range of subjects that is constantly being extended.

The most frequent choices are subjects connected with sport, handicraft, music, photography and dancing. Amateur dramatics, housekeeping, printing, literature and politics are a little less common.

Subjects obviously involving training courses – stenography for example – are not allowed but the education authority has given its blessing to a number of courses that were not originally planned. They include chess, foreign languages and mathematics.

Is the Hamburg experiment a step in the right direction? That was what Dr Wolfgang Nahrstedt of Hamburg wanted to find out in an investigation he conducted with two of his colleagues. Provisional results have now been published in *Pädagogische Rundschau*, issued by the Aloys Henn Verlag, Ratingen.

Older pupils in particular are attracted by the leisure-time groups. Few of the six to nine-year-olds at elementary school take part in the scheme. The ten- to twelve-year-olds made up only 28 per cent of the groups while the thirteen- to fifteen-year-olds were in the majority with 65 per cent.

It is therefore difficult to understand why the leisure-time groups were set up for elementary and secondary modern schoolchildren and not for high school pupils.

"This limitation," Dr Nahrstedt comments, "shows the extent to which the school authorities look upon leisure-time schemes as a duty towards the lower levels."

Other criticisms were made after he had examined the question of why children attend leisure-time courses. The most important aim as far as the education authorities are concerned is to protect children from the dangers of city life, or so they claim. This is one way to make an impression on the public and politicians who hold the purse-strings.

But none of the teachers asked stated that this intention was all that important. The proportion of children who can be regarded as threatened by the dangers of city life makes up only an estimated six per cent of the leisure-time groups.

The same conclusion can be drawn from what the pupils themselves say. Only one in four stated that he had joined the course because he never had anything to do on that particular day or because he was always bored in the afternoon.

Most of the children gave more positive reasons for attending the leisure-time courses. The main incentive was interest in the subject. More than half of them are members of outside clubs.

The heads of the groups on the other hand claimed that the main reasons were sensible use of free time, the awakening of specialised interests enabling pupils to use their leisure time constructively after leaving school, an extension of what is taught during school lessons and an improvement of the contact between pupils and teachers. The last two aims have been a complete success, teachers believe.

The verdict of the pupils is no different. They too believe that attending a group could be to their advantage during class work. The important factor is that the course contains material that is given little or no attention in the normal syllabus. Little connection exists between career and leisure-time wishes. There is a clear division between the two spheres.

As about half the pupils believe that the course could be of advantage to them in class work, it cannot be ruled out that some of the pupils have joined the leisure-time groups less out of interest for the subject than from the wish to make up for poor school performances or a similar desire arising from the pressure placed on schoolchildren.

Among other factors restricting the freedom of the pupils Dr Nahrstedt listed the limitation of numbers, the need for the subjects to be approved, the obligation to attend for a whole term, the controlling position of the teacher and his interest in the fee paid him.

"The authoritarian character of schools with its emphasis on compulsion and performance can be recognised here," Dr Nahrstedt comments. "The institution of the leisure-time community thus seems to take up a position halfway between the school and outside leisure-time centres.

"The leisure-time education practise stands midway between compulsory school education and the completely independent leisure-time activities in outside clubs. The claim that it is genuine leisure-time education can only be made with reservation."

As the leisure-time groups must now be considerably extended, the Hamburg investigation suggests that instructors specialising in leisure-time activities should be appointed, especially as the number of teachers is insufficient. That would be the best guarantee against a school-type education invading the leisure-time groups.

Gerhard Weise

(Der Tagesspiegel, 26 March 1972)

Student figures

A total of 407,236 West German and foreign students, 125,534 of them female, were registered at universities, colleges of education, theological seminaries and academies of art in the summer term of 1971. The summer term figure for 1961 was 224,167 of whom 50,249 were female.

A total of 345,707 students were at university, 59,168 at a teacher training college of 10,486 at academics of art and 1,361 at theological seminaries.

(Handelsblatt, 22 March 1972)

Telephoned advice

West Berlin's Senator for Education recently opened a telephone service to console schoolchildren who had been made to repeat a year and give advice to their parents.

About twenty thousand pupils in West Berlin were made to repeat the year when their grades appeared in March. They and their parents will be able to obtain advice over the telephone from sixteen experienced educational psychologists and teachers.

The education authorities expect between four and six hundred calls.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 17 March 1972)

University disturbances due to extremists have been exaggerated

"Viewing universities as a playground for political extremists is rather misleading," a spokesman for the Education and Science Ministry stated following a survey of the lectures broken up by radical groups at West German universities.

These statistics show that the proportion of lectures disturbed lies considerably below one per cent.

The Ministry collected figures for the Free University of Berlin and the Universities of Bonn, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Munich and Regensburg. It stressed that wrecking tactics were adopted against only a very small proportion of lectures, even if the term "wrecking tactics" is widely interpreted.

Last winter term 137,728 hours of lectures and similar lessons were held at the Free University of Berlin. Only 42 hours or 0.03 per cent of the total fell victim to wrecking tactics.

The Ministry has supplemented the information given to it by the Senate with figures supplied by the various faculties and finds that, at worst, 106 hours or 0.08 per cent were affected.

One hour out of a total of 185,000 was disturbed at Bonn. Four lectures out of 4,200 had to be abandoned in Frankfurt because of disturbances. Four lectures out of two thousand were broken up or affected by wrecking tactics in Heidelberg. This amounts to 0.2 per cent.

Two hours out of a total 24,000 were affected at Regensburg. Between fifty and sixty hours of lectures have been affected by wrecking tactics in Hamburg out of a total six hundred thousand in the past two years – and that is defining the term "wrecking tactics" very liberally, university authorities claim. No disturbances were announced at Munich.

The Education and Science Ministry stated that the government condemned unrest at the universities and in particular acts of violence and disturbances of teaching and research by extremist groups. It would also do its best to prevent activities of this type despite the fact that education was the responsibility of the Federal states.

But describing the universities as playgrounds for political extremists was unjust to 99 per cent of all German students," the spokesman claimed.

Hans Werner Kettenbach

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 March 1972)

West German and Polish experts purge textbooks of 'falsifications'

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES
SONNTAGS BLATT

West German and Polish historians recently met in Warsaw to rid school text-books of their nationalistic and ideological trappings. An agreement to this effect had been made by the presidents of the two countries' UNESCO commissions in 1970, the year that the Bonn-Warsaw Treaty was concluded.

Georg Eckert, head of the International School Book Institute in Brunswick and president of the West German UNESCO commission, has had previous experience in purging books of their non-factual content. He has spent years with West German scholars and their Western European colleagues in an attempt to bring more objectivity into school text-books.

It was found in Warsaw that scientists in the two countries had long grown nearer to each other despite difficulties arising from the past. German historians have long abandoned Ranke who consciously ignored the Poles and determined European history as that of the Germanic and Roman peoples' migrations. Treitschke is also forgotten in this respect as he said he had nothing against all the Slavs sinking in the sea.

The West Germans and Poles drew up fifteen guidelines at the Warsaw meeting in order to help end the gap between research and teaching. One of then reads: "Mediaeval European civilisation is a synthesis of Mediterranean Christian, Germanic and Slavonic cultures."

It was quickly agreed that history was not to be regarded merely as a history of States in the light of their foreign policy. History should be a mixture of social, economic and intellectual history.

Descriptions of the Middle Ages would then be seen in a new light: "German colonisation of Eastern and Central Europe should be treated as a demographic, economic and social process ... All European peoples, including the Slavonic and Germanic, created independently the basis allowing them to take over new forms of civilisation and culture .... The predominance of Germans among the immigrants led to the origination of the term "German law" for the description of their liberties and obligations."

There are of course points of disagreement in the evaluation of facts. A note on the Teutonic Order makes this clear: "The role of the Order in the secular State and in military expansion is stressed in Polish text-books while its civilising and missionary influence is underlined in West German books."

Phraseology of this type offers a way out of the dilemma caused by varying interpretations. The two different standpoints can be set out objectively.

Both sides desire understanding and closer acquaintance. But it is still not clear whether text-book writers, publishers and teachers will react to these wishes.

Poland with its centralised government would have no difficulty in issuing new guidelines and text-books overnight – as long as the party cooperates.

But the situation in West Germany is more complicated. After the past eighteen years Eckert relies on the time factor: "Things will proceed slowly but they will proceed."

Dietrich Möller

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 26 March 1972)

■ CITIES

Trier's means of attracting industry do the city no good



Trier, this country's oldest city with its 106,000 inhabitants, has a pile of debts totalling 195 million Marks. Only by careful budgeting can this heavy burden be limited to 225 million Marks by the end of 1972. Unless the Rhineland-Palatinate state government offers immediate help Trier will be in a difficult position. But nevertheless the city has in the past few years developed from a city of difficulties to a city that has expended its industrial potential.

More doubts than expressions of concurrence were heard when Peter Raskin, the mayor said ten years ago, at the celebrations of the 2000th anniversary of the foundation of the city: "Trier now has opportunities that no one had ever dared to hope for. From being a modest city in a forgotten corner of Europe, the city is now in the centre of things. Now fruits have ripened that we only need pluck."

And his hopes have been realised. The city that was once lay between the major industrial areas of the Ruhr, Belgium, Luxemburg, Lorraine and the Saar, has been promoted to an economic and communications centre of the Common Market.

So long as Trier remained only a sightseeing city with such wonders as the Porta Nigra, the imperial baths and the amphitheatre visitors would only stay in the city a day or so. As soon a harbour was built at the Mosel and in the immediate vicinity of the city an industrial area was established so visitors came with interests that lasted longer than a mere few days. What they saw pleased them.

The harbour was equipped with modern facilities. Road connections were improved such as the four-lane motorway through the Eifel and the labour force in the district was impressive. Furthermore the city was prepared to offer every facility to newly established industry in the environs of the city.

This resulted in French and American manufacturers setting up shop there — tyres and spare parts for vehicles. And there were West German manufacturers producing machinetools, refrigeration equipment, respirators, shoes, cigarettes, knitted goods and household equipment. Unless legal action had been promptly taken the land reserved for industrial development would have soon been sold.

In addition Trier's value was enhanced by the development of the recreation facilities Trier offered, particularly promoted by the national "Trimmy" keep fit campaign. "Trimmy" walks through the Eifel forest were organised. And then the wonderful Mosel wine-country lies at the city's doorstep.

It was not surprising that soon after prosperity arrived the ghost of the ancient founder of the city, Augustus, made an appearance. After a break of 172 years the city was again graced with a university in 1970. And in the following year the city was chosen to be the headquarters of the West German academy of judges and it is hoped that by 1973 the city will become the headquarters of judges and lawyers in this country.

According to one news agency report, "many factors have aided the city to escape from the thrall of its past." It has all been something of an achievement although there are no figures to show the actual cost. Peter Raskin's successor as mayor, Josef Harnisch, remains silent about the number of loans that have been offered interest-free for road and power facilities. But it cannot be denied that of the 195 million Marks debts the city has incurred 137 million are debts that are not worthwhile, that do nothing but edge the local government further and further into difficulties. The error was to try to attract industry into the area at any price so that taxes could later be collected to the city's advantage.

Mayor Josef Harnisch is now asking for an advance of ten million Marks so that the city will not experience dire difficulties. But the state government in Mainz has not listened to his appeals with any kind of sympathy. Rhineland-Palatinate Interior Minister, Heinz Schwarz, recently criticised "the increasing number of Rhineland-Palatinate cities who despite an improvement in state government financial support still cannot make their budgets balance."

The Basilica of St Matthew in Trier

(Photo: Gerd Schneider/Verkehrsamt Tr

The state government is considering withholding approval for loans where local government has exceeded its allowance by twenty per cent. Fifteen per cent is the high-water level.

But despite these warnings the state government will have no choice but to help Trier out of its difficulties. But unless Trier wants to fall back to the position it had in the sixties as West Germany's poorest city west of the Rhine the state government will have to reduce drastically the loans it has made to local industry.

Lothar K. Frost

(Der Tagesspiegel, 17 March 1972)

Salzgitter, a young city with a great future

There is nothing particular about the 30th 'birthday' of a West German city. Many cities have been in existence for hundreds of years. But the people of Salzgitter are anxious to make something of the 30th birthday of their city to show quite clearly the progress the city has made over the past thirty years.

Today Salzgitter is economically well established. The city has problems, of course, but they are different from the problems that face other cities. The times when Salzgitter made uncomfortable headlines are long since past.

Salzgitter is not only one of the youngest major cities in the Federal Republic but one of the most original. The city came into being by an order made by the governor of Brunswick on 1 April 1942 joining together 21 districts of Wolfenbüttel and eight from Goslar. The end of the war was only a temporary setback for the Hermann Göring Stadt, as Salzgitter was originally to be called, an industrial complex in Lower Saxony.

The city was then a 'body' that could not live and yet could not die. Soon the city became one of the Federal Republic's major distress areas. More than 14,000 people lined up at the unemployment exchanges in the early years after the war.

The occupying powers refused to put in operation again the 'Reich factories' in Salzgitter when the other industrial centres of West Germany were already going back into production. The citizens defended their furnaces with their own lives, so that demolition squads refrained from blowing them up.

From 1951 Salzgitter's industrial power was rebuilt, a power from which more and more of the population gained a living. Steel was again produced in Salzgitter in 1953.

Local government authorities saw themselves beset with what seemed insoluable problems. When Salzgitter was first brought into being in 1937 there were 19,000 people living in the area. By the end of the war more than 110,000 workers with their families had settled there.

When the 'forced labourers' had been repatriated there was an influx of people from the East, refugees and escapees who settled in whatever accommodation was available, houses, flats, barracks. There were no schools for the children, no hospitals for the sick nor any kind of local facilities.

Under the most difficult conditions the people of Salzgitter rebuilt their city. More than 300 million Marks were invested in public building programmes, these included three new swimming baths, [illegible] schools, any number of new roads and a brand new town hall.

The main problem was that Salzgitter's main tax-payer, Salzgitter AG, was obliged because of contractual connections to make payments to sick industries in Berlin, the Upper Palatinate and Kiel; payments made with money earned in Salzgitter.

Apart from this difficulty the city had to bear the burden attendent upon transferred industries.

In 1968 the city's industrial infrastructure was reorganised with particular reference to the iron and steel industries on which Salzgitter was so dependent.

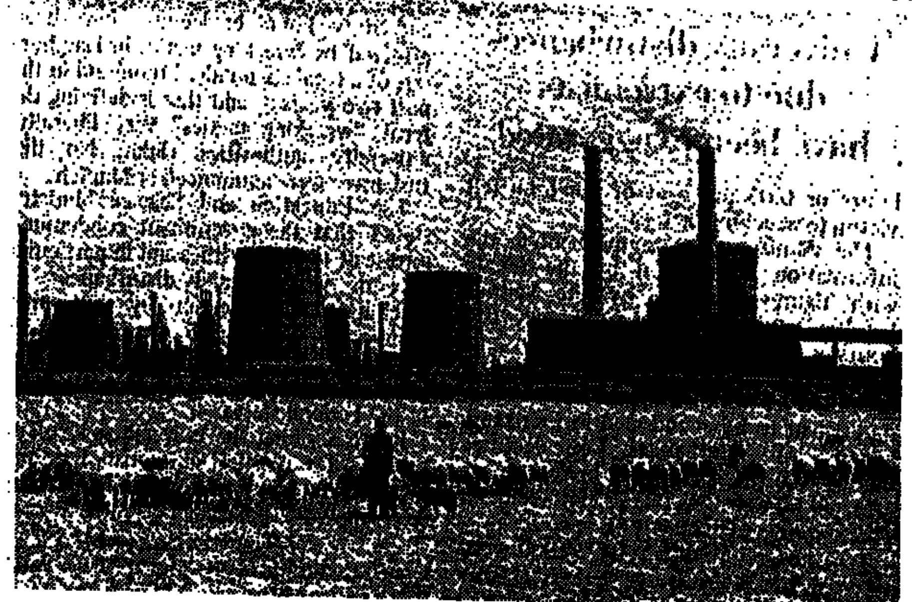
More than 15,000 jobs were created when Volkswagen established a factory there thus diversifying industry, a problem that had been such a bugbear until then.

Between 1961 and 1972 tax collected almost doubled to 62.7 million Marks. Local investments rose to 42.2 million Marks.

Salzgitter is a model of modern city planning with industrial areas separated from residential quarters. Reforms have been made and made to succeed here that are essential for the rest of Lower Saxony. Salzgitter is a modern, efficiently functioning, well-laid out city.

Peter Altenburg

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 22 March 1972)



Industrial development on the outskirts of Salzgitter (Photo: dpa)

■ SPORT

Potential racing driver needs a course on form-filling first

Car-racing is the escape-valve through which driving-licence holders can give vent to wishes that cannot otherwise be fulfilled on our crowded roads.

ADAC, the larger of the Federal Republic's two major motoring clubs, applies for more than 10,000 licences for racing drivers (or would-be drivers) every year.

Only a handful of these ambitious motorists ever make the grade and still fewer ever take part in grand-prix racing. But the initial moves call not only for pluck and driving-skill. On his way to the top a racing driver must first wend his way through acres of red tape.

"We begged him, we implored him not to take any risks," a Cologne driver says of one youngster who got off to a bad start. "If you pass the finishing-post at all within a reasonable distance of the rest of the field you will have done well."

But the Kid, as he was known in the Cologne club, cast caution to the winds and got off to a flying start at the Nürburgring. In the second straight he was in the lead. Barely a mile later the club's car was a write-off and the Kid regained consciousness in Adenau hospital, waking up from sweet but deceptive dreams of success. He had failed to round a bend.

The old Olympic adage about taking *part* mattering more than winning can also be applied to racing drivers, particularly beginners. But before they ever get close enough to a wheel to risk writing off either themselves or the vehicle they have to put in a fair amount of paper work.

Would-be racing drivers must first belong to a recognised motoring club, the ADAC or the AvD, for instance. Then, at least six weeks before the first race in which they plan to compete, they must apply to the Supreme National Commission for Motor Sport in Germany, an august body based in Frankfurt and more commonly known as ONS, for a racing-licence.

The pale blue application form is available from the racing section of regional offices of ADAC or from the racing department of AvD, the motoring club in both cases having to support the application.

The applicant must be eighteen, have his parents' approval should he still be a minor and have held a Class 2 or Class 3 driving-licence for at least six months. (Class 2 is for heavy goods vehicles, Class 3 for private cars.)

He has to give a written assurance that he can still boast two arms, two legs and two eyes, that he can and will drive well, that he is not hard of hearing and does not suffer from diabetes, epilepsy or any other disease.

He also undertakes to acknowledge without exception the international and national motor racing regulations and not to go to court other than in the manner and circumstances provided for in the rules and regulations.

The application includes a money order remittance form since the racing-licence costs sixty Marks. In return the applicant is bombarded with paper. There is the licence, the international regulations, the ONS manual, the ONS circular and other sober reading-matter.

The idea behind all this paper, so it would seem, is to apply countless regulations in order to ensure that "motor sport remains orderly."

Last but not least, the licence entitles the holder to take part in national racing events and in open races staged by German organisers in which the participation of drivers with national licences is expressly permitted.

These initial reams of paper do not seem to put off would-be racing drivers. Their numbers continue to increase. So the paperwork that still awaits them will not upset them unduly either.

For one there is a separate tome of detailed rules and regulations concerning the way in which races are to be run and then there is the official test form plus annexes that must be filled in for the vehicle that is to be driven.

Drivers have been known to race on A licences for years, winning five gold medals in endurance tests and five first to third places in races in the process.

But if they want to get any further up the ladder they will have to submit an application for an L licence. The application form looks much the same but has to be accompanied by a passport photograph and two doctor's certificates, not to mention a fee of 75 Marks plus postage, packaging and value added tax.

The initial A licence entitles the holder to try his hand at the wheel of Formula 3 and Formula V cars. The L licence, an international document, is good for Formula 2 and Formula 1 racing. It is the passport to membership of the exclusive brotherhood of the world's top two dozen racing drivers.

But, of course, there is more to it than form-filling. Reading the ONS regulations for 1,300-cc Formula V racing cars is hard work. They must mainly consist of standard components of the Volkswagen 1,300-cc beetle. The minimum vehicle weight must be 375 kilograms. The cockpit opening must measure sixty by forty centimetres. And so on and so on.

The regulations for 1,600-cc Formula V cars are considered a scientific discipline of their own in comparison, while Annex J to the International Regulations is sufficient to make readers who are not technically-minded break out in a cold sweat.

It does, however, outline the categories of vehicle, three in number, the groups (all nine of them) and the classes (no fewer than thirteen) in which a driver can try his luck.



Hubert Hahne with some of his trainee racing drivers

(Photo: Horstmüller)

Every single function of the vehicle is dealt with in detail. The cockpit, for instance, "must be so designed that the maximum time the driver needs to get in or out is five seconds."

But, of course, some people lap all this up. They also think nothing of the 5,000 Marks or so in expenses a Monte Carlo rally is going to cost them (not to mention the entry fee of 800 Marks and the cost of the car).

The final cost might well (might just as well, indeed) be 200,000 Marks. They keep on coming even though the prize money in the Monte Carlo rally is a pittance of 7,000 Marks at best. And what private individual stands an earthly chance of winning the rally?

Assuming, then, that the individual in question has the cash, the driving skill and the pluck he may not like everyone to know that he always comes in last. Prestige is no problem, though. For a mere 333 Marks a year he is entitled to a pseudonym. This provision is also to be found among the small print of the national rules and regulations.

A finished product does not descend like a penny from Heaven, certainly not on the race-track, and works support or a works contract are few and far between.

There used to be a decidedly uncatered-for demand in this sector but not long ago Hubert Hahne of Düsseldorf inaugurated formula driving lessons at a racing driving school modelled on similar facilities abroad.

A course consists of five weekends at Nürburgring or Hockenheim and costs some 3,000 Marks, including use of the school's sports cars and a diploma.

Really outstanding learners stand a chance of being taken on by Hahne's racing stable with a Formula 3 car laid on. If they continue to do well they may be at the wheel of Formula 2 cars by the following season.

Whether or not they then succeed in scaling the final hurdles and achieving fame and fortune as a first-rate international racing driver will depend, in the final analysis, on a certain amount of sheer good luck.

Racing drivers, even though they may not since the days of the late and unforgetten Count Berghe von Trips have really been household names in this country, come from all walks of life.

Common or garden tradesmen have come first past the post just as have multimillionaires such as Jim Hall or Peter Revson, who relaxes before each race by reading the latest issue of the *Wall Street Journal*.

The reigning national champion in the Formula 3 mountain category, Dieter Kern, is a Westerwald road haulier. Robert A. Lutz, the newly-appointed BMW sales director, is also a racing driver, albeit more at home on two wheels than on four. Both are businessmen at the wheel.

Lothar M. Koerber

(Handelsblatt, 31 March 1972)

Sepp Herberger – a vignette of the famous national soccer trainer

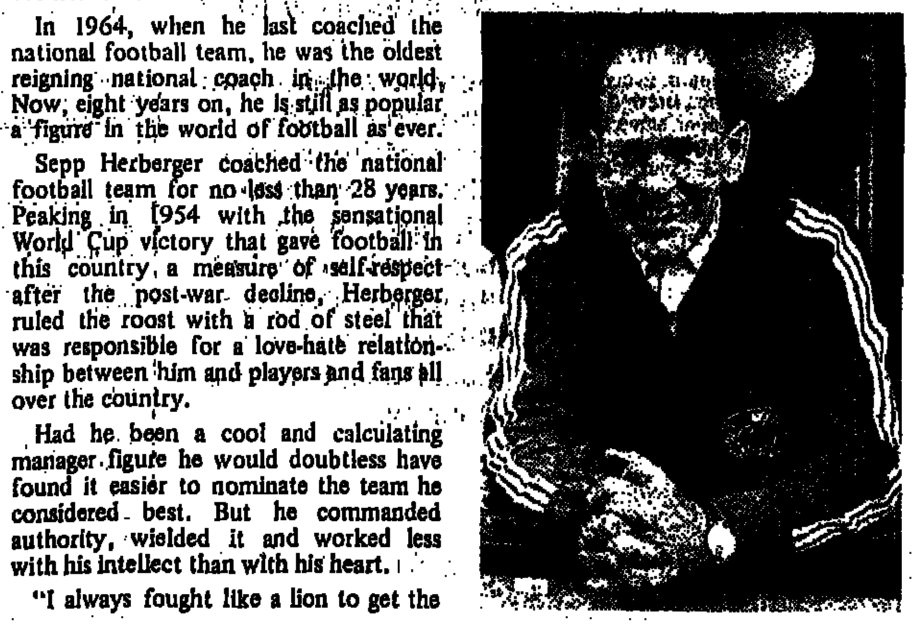
"Suddenly," the grand old man says, "another decade was over and done with, then another, then I stopped counting and now I am 75." On 28 March Sepp Herberger, trainer of the national team that won the 1954 football World Cup in Berne, passed another milestone in an eventful life.

In 1964, when he last coached the national football team, he was the oldest reigning national coach in the world. Now, eight years on, he is still as popular a figure in the world of football as ever.

Sepp Herberger coached the national football team for no less than 28 years. Peaking in 1954 with the sensational World Cup victory that gave football in this country a measure of self-respect after the post-war decline, Herberger ruled the roost with a rod of steel that was responsible for a love-hate relationship between him and players and fans all over the country.

Had he been a cool and calculating manager figure he would doubtless have found it easier to nominate the team he considered best. But he commanded authority, wielded it and worked less with his intellect than with his heart.

"I always fought like a lion to get the team I wanted," he says, "even when everyone disagreed with me."



"They will have to match one another," he always said and this outlook was part and parcel of his calculations. He meant more than the teamwork of 22 legs, too. People he did not get on well with had a hard time of it.

He could be a real tartar if people failed to carry out his instructions. "We all did as we were told," Jupp Posipal, a member of the 1954 World Cup team, recalls.

As a seventy-five-year-old Herberger conveys the impression of being a man who has failed to notice that he is getting on in years. There is nothing of the old-age pensioner about him. He was never one for an after-dinner nap and he still thinks nothing of the idea.

Football has remained his profession, though he is now less frequently seen at the fountainhead of international soccer. But his views are still in demand. "I would far sooner be national trainer now than when I was," he comments.

"Football," he concludes, "— dealing with young people — has kept me young. One of these days I will drop down dead as a thirty-year-old."

Gerhard Seehase

(Photo: Schirner)

(Welt am Sonntag, 26 March 1972)